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O F
H E N R Y G U T H R Y,

Successor of Bishop of Dunkeld
Late Bishop of DUNKELD:

C O N T A I N I N G

**AN IMPARTIAL RELATION of the AFFAIRS of
SCOTLAND, Civil and Ecclesiastical,
from the Year 1637, to the Death of
King CHARLES I.**

I N W H I C H,

**The true RISE and SPRINGS of the PUBLIC CONFUSIONS,
during that Period, are discovered; and the most
CONSIDERABLE TRANSACTIONS, both of the ROYALISTS
and COVENANTERS, briefly and faithfully narrated.**

T H E S E C O N D E D I T I O N.

To which is prefixed,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

By GEORGE CRAWFURD, Esq;

G L A S G O W:

Printed for A. STALKER, under the Exchange Coffee-house.

M D C C X L V I I I.
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T H E
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O F
H E N R Y G U T H R Y,
Late Bishop of DUNKELD.

THE author, bishop GUTHRY, was descended of the antient family of GUTHRY of that Ilk, in the county of Forfar; which, from small beginnings, was raised by Sir DAVID GUTHRY of Guthry, who was a great man with king James III*. He was lord-advocate, captain of the guards, comptroller of the exchequer, and high-treasurer.

SIR ALEXANDER GUTHRY of that Ilk, his son, founded and endowed the College-church at Guthry†, which still remains a monument of the grandeur of the family. He lost his life at the un-

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* Life of Sir David Guthry of that Ilk, in the Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown and State in Scotland.

† Charta in publicis archivis, ad annum 1503.

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) fortunate battle of Floudon, with king James IV. anno 1513.

ANOTHER ALEXANDER GUTHRY of that Ilk, was the bishop our author's grandfather.

HIS father was Mr. JOHN GUTHRY, a younger son of the family of GUTHRY, minister at Cowpar of Angus, where the bishop was born*.

HE was no sooner got out of his infancy, but he gave proofs of his capacity and genius, by very quick and considerable advances in Latin and Greek at the inferior schools; after which he went to the university of St. Andrews, where he made an unusual progress in all the parts of university studies, and took his degrees in arts.

AFTER this he applied himself to the study of divinity in the new college at St. Andrews, where Theology and Hebrew were taught by several professors.

THE next qualification, at that time, for a young Theologue, was to get into a great family, to serve as a chaplain, which was always considered as a step to preferment in the church; so Mr. GUTHRY being, by his birth, education, and breeding, well qualified for such an employment,

* Memorial of the Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld, MS.

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ment, he got into the earl of Mar's family, where he continued some years, and was treated in that noble family with great respect, civility, and esteem, of which our author ever afterward, during his whole life, retained the highest sense of gratitude.

MR. GUTHRY being, by his piety, learning, and prudence, thought duly qualified for the function of the ministry, he entered on the ordinary course of trials, which he went through with great applause, and was put into presbyters orders.

THE next step for our author, was to get a cure in the church; so, upon the recommendation of his noble patron the earl of Mar, to the magistrates and town-council of Stirling, he was presented to the church there, and was Episcopally ordained.

BEING now a minister in the church, he was diligent in his pastoral care, in all the parts of his function, and was well affected to the government in church and state.

THE steps and measures the king took, in introducing a liturgy, and a book of canons, for the worship and discipline of the church, in 1637, was displeasing to our author, as well as to many others of the

clergy, who thought this was contrary to the liberties of the church; and that no determination ought to be made in such matters, without the consent of the clergy.

WHEN things came to the great crisis, in 1638, by the proceedings of the general assembly, Mr. GUTHRY took the covenant, as the far greater part of his brethren did; but, as he was a moderate man, he never went with violence into the heats of the more zealous party, which made him still suspected by the high men, as being a malignant in his heart, a term which was applied to all who differed from them, and did not go all their lengths. However, Mr. GUTHRY, by his prudence and discretion in his conduct, in the judicatories of the church*, where he was frequently a member, and in the offices of his ministerial function, secured himself from being laid open to censure; yet he was suspected by the high men, that Episcopacy was at bottom with him; but nothing could be made of that to his prejudice.

IN the year 1647, when the parliament declared for the engagement, to relieve the king from his imprisonment in England, the assembly of the church re-

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* HIS OWN MEMOIRS.

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monstrated against it, as an unlawful confederacy with the enemies of God;* yet our author, and others in the ministry, preached up the lawfulness of the design, which was ill taken by the high party in the church. However, the assembly did not meddle with the brethren who were for the engagement, till after the news of the defeat of the Scots army under the duke of Hamilton; when, having got the government in their hands, they fell on those of the clergy who had been engagers; so, under the notion of purging the judicatories, many were deprived of their functions. Our author, the bishop, tells us, "There was at that time a fearful havoc made in the presbyteries of Stirling and Dunblain †," where many were deposed from the ministry; particularly our author himself, and his colleague Mr. John Allan.

MR. GUTHRY, our author, in some measure, reckoned it a happiness, that he was now out of the ministry, since it kept him out of the contests and fierce debates that soon after this fell out among the clergy, and split them into Resolu-

* Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, and other historians.

† Bishop GUTHRY's own Memoirs.

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solutioners and Protesters, which ended so fatally, and gave a handle to the usurper Cromwell to discharge the general assemblies altogether, tho' he allowed the clergy to meet in presbyteries and synods.

OUR author, Mr. GUTHRY, being deposed, and deprived of his function in the church, was now left more at liberty to enter into a closer course of study than when he had a cure; so he fell upon reading the fathers, and the ecclesiastical histories, whereby he came to see clearly, that the apostles had settled the church in a constitution of bishops, priests, and deacons.

HE said, he further observed in his reading, and from his own experience, while he was among the Presbyterians, " That a parity in the church could not
" possibly be maintained, so as to pre-
" serve unity and order among them,
" and that a superior authority must be
" brought in, to settle them in unity
" and peace."

We may easily imagine our author had the restoration of the king, and the royal family, much at heart, since that alone, he thought, could effectually remove all animosities and divisions, and bring the constitution to run in its antient channel; so, when that happy event was wonder-
fully

fully brought about, no man in the kingdom had a greater sense of that blessing, nor, in a private capacity, made a better improvement of it.

OUR author continued in a retired state of life, till Episcopacy was restored by act of parliament, in 1661*, and all the laws rescinded, that had established Presbytery; so, being now fully reconciled to the government of the church by bishops, he complied with the change, which he was now satisfied in his own mind was most conform to the scriptures, and the rules of the primitive church.

By law, our author was restored to his pastoral function at Stirling, which, indeed, was void by the death and execution of the zealous Mr. James Guthry, who at this time suffered for writing in the late times, *The Remonstrance; The Causes of God's wrath; and declining the king's authority to judge of his doctrine*†.

OUR author, upon this turn of affairs, needed no new institution from a bishop, being Episcopally ordained before the war: He did not scruple to take the oath of supremacy, whereby the covenant (both National, as explained

* Acts of Parliament.

† Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times; and Mr. Guthry's trial.

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ed by the assembly of Glasgow, 1638, and the League with England in 1643) was declared of no obligation, force, nor effect, for the future*.

THOUGH our author, Mr. GUTHRY, had met with hard enough treatment from the high Presbyterians, in 1648; yet this did not sour his spirits against the whole party; for, having observed the ill effects of the former violence on both sides, he was become very moderate, and against all persecution in matters of conscience, as contrary to the meek spirit of the gospel, and tending rather to widen the divisions, than to heal them.

MR. GUTHRY's temper and principles being well known to the earl of Lauderdale, who then had the sole management of Scotland, from the time they had been both covenanters†, his lordship recommended him to the bishopric of Dunkeld, in 1664, then void by the demise of bishop Haliburton‡. He was, upon the *conge de lire*, elected by the chapter, and soon after consecrated with the usual solemnities, and all was ratified by letters patent

* Acts of Parliament.

† The Bishop's own Memoirs.

‡ Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld, MS. penes Mr. CRAWFURD.

patent under the great seal §, January thirty-first, 1665.

BISHOP GUTHRY carried the same moderation of temper and principles when he became a bishop, as when he was a minister; for, though by law, the whole government and jurisdiction of the church was lodged in the bishops, yet our author never carried his authority higher, than to be the settled president of his clergy, and to have a negative in matters of jurisdiction and ordination. All was carried on in his diocese with great moderation; there were few disorders there, which was chiefly imputed to the moderation of the bishop's deportment: He held the see, and discharged his Episcopal office, with that temper and humility that became his function, for the space of twelve years, even till his death, in 1676*.

OUR author was generally esteemed a wise man, moderate in his temper, regular and exemplary in the whole course of his life.

BISHOP GUTHRY left nothing behind him that I have seen, except the following MEMOIRS. He begins his Book from the

§ In the Records, dated January thirty-first, 1665.

* Memoirs of the Bishops of Dunkeld, and Mr. Middleton's Appendix to Bishop's Spotswood's Ecclesiastical History.

the first legal settlement of Episcopacy, in 1573, wherein he gives an exact, succinct, and more accurate, account of things, than is to be met with any where else.

FROM the beginning of the troubles, in 1637, he gives us the history of the kingdom, and of the times, very fairly and impartially, both in church and state; for he had access to know the springs of things, especially in the proceedings of the church, where he was frequently a member in her judicatories, and tells us very frankly the part he acted himself, which must procure him credit from all impartial and candid readers of the history.

AND, that which renders his Book, of great value, is, that it is a supplement to bishop Spotswood's history, from the time he ends, in 1625, for twenty-four years down, till the death of king CHARLES I. in 1649.

G L O S S A R Y,

EXPLAINING

Some old Scots Words and Phrases that occur in this History.

- A**CCORDED (Pag. 24.) Agreed.
- A**LOFT (46.) Up.
- ALWAYS** (21, 25, 31, &c.) A word often used by our Author, for, *In the mean time, however, nevertheless.*
- ANENT** (10, &c.) Concerning.
- ATTOUR** (96.) *By and attour, i. e.* Over and above.
- BACK** (28.) *A thin back, a proverbial expression, used by the Author, for a small party.*
- BELEAGUERED** (29.) Surrounded.
- BOUT** (75.) *To have a bout, i. e.* To have a brush or skirmish.
- BOUTEFEU** (113.) Incendiaries.
- BREAK UP** (47.) *Break up the assembly, i. e.* Opened the assembly with sermon.
- BRUIT** (46.) Report.
- CLOSE** (84.) A court, or yard.
- COMMONS** (10.) The vulgar, or poorer and meaner sort of people.
- CREAM** (247.) *A lick of cream, a proverbial phrase, of the same import with what in England they call a Sugar-plumb.*
- DEBORDÉ** (109.) Exceeded; a metaphor, from a river's rising above, and overflowing, its banks, from the French word *Deborder.*
- DECLINATURE** (31.) Gave in a *declinature* against the *bishops, i. e.* Excepted, or objected, against them, as lawful or competent judges.
- DEMITTED** (12.) Dismissed, liberated.
- DEMUR** (2.) A stop, delay.
- DITTIES** (55.) Complaints.
- ESCHEATED** (72.) Confiscated.
- ESCHEW** (19.) To avoid, shun.
- FOREFAULTED** (72.) Forfeited.

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- FRAME** (Pag. 12, &c.) Original copy, or scroll.
FENCIBLE MEN (285.) Men that can carry arms.
GIFTED (16.) Fit, proper, equal.
HAUGH (222.) A low level piece of ground by the side of a river.
HERRIE (211.) To *herrie* one, is to deprive and strip him of all.
HORNING (24, &c.) Under pain of *horning*, i. e. Under pain of being denounced a rebel.
HOSE-NET (184.) A trap, snare.
HOUND FAIR (26.) To spirit up, animate.
HOUND OUT (29, &c.) To set on.
LETTERS (250.) To *raise letters*, and have them executed at the pier and shore of Leith, is a form used by the Scots law, before any suit or judgment can be given against a person, who, for the time, is out of the kingdom.
LIEGES (225.) Subjects.
LIFT (109.) A *dead lift*, i. e. At a pinch, upon a push or exigence.
MESCHANT (7.) Mischievous, wicked.
MOYEN (16.) Interest, influence, means.
OCTAVIANS (6.) Eight ministers or lords, chosen by king James, to manage the affairs of the nation.
OPEN THE MOUTH (281.) Impower, license.
PANNEL (12.) Brought to the *pannel*, i. e. Brought to his trial.
PAUGHTY (231.) Saucy, insolent, pert.
PRICKERS (202.) Horsemen.
PRIMER (63.) Principal.
PROPYNE (89.) A present, gift, complement.
PROTOTYPE (11.) Original.
PUT (80.) To *put by*, is, to put off, delay.
REACHING (249.) *Reaching* heart-malignants, i. e. Vexing and oppressing them.
REDDERS (261.) Men to part or separate.
REMEED (8.) Redress, relief.
RESOLVED (5.) *Resolved* in peace, i. e. Ended in peace.
SENATOR (11.) A lord of the session.
TABLES (29, &c.) Boards, or junctos.
TASH (93.) A stain, blemish.
TOLBOOTH (169, &c.) A prison.
UNFRIENDS (81.) Enemies.

THE
MEMOIRS
OF
HENRY GUTHRY,

Late Bishop of DUNKELD.

THE reformation of religion in Scotland taking effect in the year 1560, Mr. Knox, and the rest of the ministers, together with the lords of the congregation (so were the reformers called) founded the government of the church in a moderate imparity; for how soon they appointed ministers to particular stations, withal they constituted superintendents to govern in their respective provinces, to whom the power was given to ordain ministers, to preside in synods, and to direct church censures.

After this model was the church governed in the infancy of it, with a well-balanced harmony among church-men, and a general liking from the people, notwithstanding of
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very great troubles which at that time fell out in the state.

Afterwards, in the year 1571, a general assembly being, in time of parliament, convened at Stirling, some of the meeting propounded, that things could not always continue in that state. For the superintendents being old, and divers of them serving upon their own charges, it was not to be expected that others, when they were gone, would undergo that burden; and therefore wished that the lord regent, and the estates of parliament, should be dealt with, for establishing a constant form of church-government. For which effect, commission was given to the superintendents of Angus, Fife, and Lothian, and with them to Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Andrew Hay, Mr. John Row, Mr. George Hay, to solicit the parliament. But the slaughter of the regent by the lord Huntley, Claud Hamilton, and their adherents, which fell out upon the third of September, did put a demur to the business until January next; at which time the general assembly being met at Leith, those commissioners pressed the earl of Mar, then lord regent, and his council, for settling a constant policy in the church. Whereupon it was agreed, that six of the council, and as many of the assembly, should be set apart, to treat, reason, and conclude upon the business. For the council, were nominated James earl of Morton chancellor, William lord Ruthven treasurer, Robert abbot of Dunfermline secretary, Mr. James Macgil clerk-regi-

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register, Sir John Ballenden justice-clerk, and Colin Campbell of Glenorchy ; and for the church, the superintendents of Angus, and Fife, and with them Mr. David Lindsay, Mr. Andrew Hay, Mr. Robert Pont, and Mr. John Craig. Those twelve, after divers meetings and consultations, agreed upon certain conclusions, whereof the principal were, that the church should be governed by archbishops and bishops, and the election should be made by the deans and chapters.

These conclusions being reported to the general assembly, met at Perth in August 1572, some of the ministry were displeased, and made a kind of protestation against the same.

Yet notwithstanding thereof the course went on, and so Mr. John Douglas was provided to the archbishopric of St. Andrews, Mr. James Boyd to the archbishopric of Glasgow, Mr. John Paton to the bishopric of Dunkeld; and Mr. Andrew Graham to the bishopric of Dunblain.

These doings were grievous to divers of the ministry, who contended for a parity in church-government ; whereunto, ere long, they were much more encouraged, by the return of Mr. Andrew Melvil from Geneva, who coming home in the year 1575, gave them such a character of the Presbyterian discipline exercised there, as not only confirmed them who already favoured it, but also gained so far upon others, that shortly thereafter

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the most part of ministers turned Presbyterians, and in an assembly at Dundee 1580, condemned Episcopacy as unlawful, and contrary to the word of God.

Whereupon (king James having before that time assumed in his own person the government of the kingdom) debates arose for many years betwixt his majesty and the ministers upon that account, the king still pressing Episcopal government, and they, on the other part, contending for the Presbyterian way.

So that at length the controversy rose to that height, that some of the ministers chose rather to hazard a war, than to suffer the discipline to be born down. Whereupon in the year 1584, the parliament then sitting at Edinburgh, having made, and published at the mercat-cross, an act which incroached upon it; Mr. Walter Balcanquall, and Mr. James Lowson, ministers of Edinburgh, and Mr. Robert Pont, Minister of St. Andrews (who was also a senator) after some protestations emitted by them, went to Berwick, and from thence to Newcastle, and there joined the banished lords, making one common cause of it; whereof the sequel was, that the year following, the banished lords, and those ministers with them (except Mr. Lowson, who died in England) entered into the kingdom, and with an army, which they made up in the south parts thereof, advanced straight towards Stirling, where the king was for the time, attended by an army, which upon the
noise

noise of their approach, he had called together, under the command of Sir James Haliburton, tutor of Pitcur, a famous warrior; and what blood and mischief might this attempt have caused, if the king in his great wisdom had not prevented the same, by affording them a treaty, which upon the fifth of November 1585, resolved in peace, and made a way for Presbyterian government in the church, which at last was established by law in the year 1592.

And if the ministers had thereafter kept within bounds, it may be that wise king would have debated no more with them upon that account; but their actions made his majesty soon repent of his condescension, and admit thoughts of restoring Episcopacy again; which they on the other part perceiving, strove to strengthen their own interest, and to frustrate his design; whereby new debates arising, grew to that height, that in the year 1596, some noblemen, barons, and ministers, being assembled in Edinburgh, and conceiving that the process laid against Mr. David Black, wronged the privileges of their discipline, and withal being displeased with the clemency shewed to the Popish lords, they, for those reasons, and other emergents, went to work again, and that so avowedly, that they pitched upon my lord Hamilton to be their head, and sent him a letter subscribed by Mr. Robert Bruce, and Mr. Walter Balcanquhall, to come with diligence and accept the charge.

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But the sad effects which this enterprize might have produced, were prevented by the fury of the multitude that attended upon their meeting, who, heated by some unhappy expressions uttered by my lord Lindsay, had not the patience to wait upon their general's coming, but presently, and without any consultation, or allowance of the better sort, leaped to their arms, came to the street in great numbers, crying, "The sword of the Lord, and of Gideon, it shall be either theirs or ours." And taking their march straight towards the session-house, where the king and his council were for the time, would in all probability have forced the doors, which upon the noise of the tumult were shut, and done mischief, at least to those called Octavians, whom they blamed for all, had it not been, that by the providence of God, a loyal party, drawn together by the deacon of the trades, kept them back for a space, until the fever cooled a little; and that in the mean time the earl of Mar, from the castle, sent a company of musqueteers, to guard the king's person, which his lieutenant quickly brought down the Castle-bank to the Grass-mercato, and from thence marched afterwards to the foot of Forrester's Wynd, which they ascended, and entering by the Back Stairs, came where the king was; after which the king commanded to open the doors, and advance to the street. Upon notice whereof, at the intreaty of Sir Alexander Home, provost, the multitude chose to disband, and went away

as confusedly as they met; whereby the king and his attendants had a sure way to go without hazard or affront, down the street to his palace of Holyroodhouse, from whence the next morning he removed to Linlithgow.

This merchant business (called in way of detestation even unto this time the 17th day of December) gave the ministers affairs such a blow, that during king James's reign they were never able to make it up again; for it was esteemed so illegal in the attempt, and proved so foolish in the conduct, that thereafter noblemen were not inclinable to espouse their quarrel, and without them it was well known they could effectuate nothing; and so it came to pass, that without difficulty, the king carried through his design, and Episcopal government was established by law, and that not without the consent and furtherance of many of the wisest among the ministry, whom experience had taught to see a necessity of having bishops set up, to curb the humours of some preachers, especially the younger sort, whose out-breakings against authority, both in their pulpits and meetings, were very offensive.

This establishment of Episcopal government taking effect shortly after his majesty's settling upon his throne of England, was the more comfortable to him, that thereby he gained an uniformity in government betwixt the churches of the two nations; which being atchieved, his majesty went on to press that there might be an uniformity also in worship

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betwixt them: For which end he recommended to the bishops the introduction of some English customs into this church; as 1. The gesture of kneeling, to be used at the receiving the holy communion. 2. In the case of necessity, baptism to be privately administered. 3. Private communion in the like case. 4. Confirmation of children. And, 5. A religious observation of the days of our blessed saviour's nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension, and of the descension of the Holy Ghost.

These articles being debated in the general assembly at St. Andrews 1617, were afterwards concluded in the general assembly at Perth 1618, and at last in the year 1621 ratified by parliament.

The king pressed also, about that time, that a liturgy should be framed for this church after the model of the English, which, tho' the bishops relished well, yet they waved the motion during his reign, for reasons best known to themselves.

The ministers of the contrary judgment still retained the old principles, and being able to do no more for that time, kept life in the cause, by presenting to the several parliaments their protestations against the things that were done.

And at length, when, by the death of that renowned king James VI. Charles I. came to sit upon the throne, they resolved upon application to his majesty for remeed, and pitched upon Mr. Robert Scot, minister of
Glas-

Glasgow, to go up and present the supplication; but at his return they found nothing was to be expected that way, but that king Charles was resolved to maintain the government which his royal father had established.

This put them to other thoughts; yet in their carriage nothing appeared, whereby men could conjecture that which afterwards came to pass; for their deportment favoured of gravity and meekness, neither acted they any thing which was much taken notice of, until the year 1633, that the king came home to Scotland.

Only in the mean time they laboured to increase the number of their profelytes every where, and that not without success; especially in Fife, and in the western parts.

Whereunto a way, which they then begun, proved very conducive; and this it was. They kept sometimes every year a fast in every kirk throughout the kingdom, where the ministers were of their stamp, viz. upon the first sabbath of every quarter; whereof, there was no public intimation, save, that the ministers did privately desire so many of their flock, as from time to time they could draw over to their party, to join in it; and upon those days of fasting, they used in their doctrine to hint at the danger of religion by prelacy, and the dependencies thereof, and in their prayer to supplicate for remedy, with a blessing upon all good means which providence should afford for that end;

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by which course they prevailed much upon the commons.

But that which advantaged them more, was the turning of certain noblemen to their side; for besides that the generality of the nobility was malecontented, there were by this time observed to be avowed owners of their interest, in Fife the earl of Rothes and lord Lindsay, in Lothian the earls of Lothian and Balmerino, and in the west the earls of Cassils, and Eglinton, and lord Loudon, which accession rendered them very considerable.

Whereupon, when the king came to Scotland, in the year 1633, to hold his first parliament, they resolved upon a petition to his majesty and parliament, for redress of all their grievances; and the same being subscribed with their hands, was committed to the earl of Rothes, to the end, that before it were delivered to the clerk register (to whom it belonged to receive petitions) his lordship might first acquaint the king with it in private.

For which end, upon the day that the king made his entry into Edinburgh, the earl of Rothes went timely in the morning to Dalkeith, and imparted the business to the king; but his majesty having read the petition, restored it to Rothes, saying, "No more of this, my lord, I command you;" which Rothes having at his return communicated to the rest, they concluded to suppress the petition, and so nothing more was heard anent it, until the next year, that my lord Balmerino

was:

was brought upon the stage for it; which was upon this occasion.

One Mr. John Dunmoor, a writer in Dundee, being with my lord Balmerino at his house of Barnton, my lord was pleased to discourse with him of the corruptions which were in church and state, laying them out to the full. Whereunto Mr. John replied, "That
 " it was a pity that such as knew those things
 " did not represent them to the king, while
 " he was here (in Scotland) in the country." To whom Balmerino answered; " That they
 " purposed to have done it, and had a petition signed for that end, which the earl of
 " Rothes having shewed him, he commanded
 " that there should be no more of it;" whereupon it was suppressed; adding withal, " That
 " the framing of the petition having been
 " committed to him, he had yet the Prototype by him, which he would shew him;" and so bringing it from his cabinet, gave it to Mr. John, who retiring to his chamber, not only read it over, but also transcribed it, and restoring to my lord the principal, carried with him the copy.

Thereafter the said Mr. John happening in his journey homeward, to lodge at the house of Mr. Peter Hay of Naughton, fell to speak with him upon that subject, and to reckon up the corruptions of the times. Whereupon Naughton replied, " Where have ye learned,
 " Mr. John, to speak so well in state affairs?
 " doubtless you have been with your patron Balmerino." To whom Mr. John answered,
 " You

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“ You have guessed it, Balmerino is indeed
 “ my informer, and moreover shewed me a
 “ petition, whereby he and his associates in-
 “ tended to have complained to the king, but
 “ he would not hear it, and I have in my
 “ pocket a copy of the petition.” Naughton
 carrying no good-will to Balmerino, and
 withal being very Episcopal, found the way
 to get the petition from Mr. John; and
 some days after he was gone, went to the
 archbishop of St. Andrews, and delivered the
 copy to him, with an account of the discourse
 which had passed betwixt Mr. John and him,
 in reference thereunto; whereupon the arch-
 bishop found himself obliged to acquaint the
 king therewith.

Whereupon there came down an order to
 the lords of the council to call Balmerino and
 Mr. John before them, who compeared, and
 were examined before them; where Mr. John
 acknowledged the copy, and that he had
 drawn it from that frame which Balmerino
 put in his hands: Balmerino confessed the
 having that frame, and produced it, granting
 that he gave it to Mr. John to read over, but
 denied that he had his allowance to copy it.
 However Mr. John was demitted, and Bal-
 merino sent prisoner to the castle of Edin-
 burgh; and after many appearances before
 the council (for the space of half a year) was
 at last brought to the pannel, and by an assize
 of his peers condemned to die; yet did the
 gracious king reprieve him, and ere long gave
 him a remission, which before the council

table he received upon his knees, with ample acknowledgements of the king's mercy to him, and solemn promises of exemplary loyalty thereafter; which how he performed, his actions in the troubles that ensued do testify.

This risque which Balmerino had run, sunk deep in their hearts who were of his party, and exasperated them against the bishops more than before, so that they spared not thereafter (whensoever they found opportunity) to undermine their reputation, taxing them of worldliness, and that their care was only to make up estates for their children, but no ways to procure the good of the church; defaming them, that they thought it not enough to trample upon the church, but strove also to domineer over the state; yea, they accused them of unsoundness also, that they were friends to Popery, and had it in their thoughts to bring in the Mass; and in special, it was their care that noblemen should drink in those prejudices against them, which was the more easily obtained, that some of them having aimed at state preferments, and met with disappointments, blamed the bishops therefore; and others, who were in high places already, were not without jealousies, that they intended their fall.

Of the former sort was Archibald, lord of Lorn (a man very considerable both for power and parts, and at that time generally beloved) the reason of whose turning against the bishops was judged by wise men, to be, that the office of high chancellor happening to be-
come

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come vacant in the year 1635, by the death of George earl of Kinnoul (a worthy statesman) the lord Lorn dealt for it; but the king having lately done great things to him (by bringing the bargain of Kintyre into his hands, and by giving him an hereditary right of the justiciary of the isles, and also a large sum of present money for his better subsistence) his majesty was not pleased to be further pressed by him, and so conferred the office of chancellor upon the archbishop of St. Andrews; which disappointment irritated Lorn against the bishops, whom he blamed for the same. The like was talked concerning some others, who had formerly turned that way, and I know well there was ground for it, yet because the same is not so generally understood as this which I have instanced, therefore I forbear to condescend.

And upon the other account it was, that John earl of Traquair, high treasurer (under profession of friendship enough to the bishops) had under-hand dealing with their adversaries; for he conceived a jealousy (and many thought not without cause) that the bishops intended his fall, to the end Mr. John Maxwell, bishop of Ross, might be made treasurer; and therefore in a covered way he did what he could to supplant them.

Neither were there wanting in the court, at the king's own elbow, divers, who for the ill-will they carried to the bishops, favoured that way, whose names I spare till afterwards,

wards, that I come to make account of their actings.

And withal, their adversaries had for a long time entertained at London one Mr. Eleazer Borthwick (a man well travelled, and fit for such work) transacting with nonconformists there, to have thoughts of attempting something for reformation in that church, how soon the work should begin here; the said Mr. Borthwick returned in February 1637, and made them an account of his success, which being to their mind, did much encourage them.

They had also correspondence with the Scottish ministers in the north of Ireland, for making some stickling there; wherein they were not deficient; and so at length (knowing what was upon the wheel here) they waxed so tumultuous against the order of that church, as made their bishops to turn them out; whereupon they came over to Scotland, with a great noise of the persecution they had met with, and were looked upon by their friends here as so many martyrs, so that care was taken for their shelter and subsistence in the west, until the revolution which ensued, that places were emptied for them.

The adversaries had also other advantages of them; as first, want of harmony amongst the bishops, by reason that the younger, who in wisdom and experience were far short of the elder, yet were no ways observant of them, which came to pass upon this occasion.

It

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It had been king James's custom, when a bishopric fell void, to appoint the archbishop of St. Andrews to convene the rest, and name three or four well qualified, so that there could not be an error in the choice, and then out of that list that king pitched upon one, whom he preferred; whereby it came to pass, that during his time most able men were advanced, as, Mr. William Couper to Galloway, Mr. Adam Ballantine to Dunblain, Patrick Forbes of Corse to Aberdeen, Mr. David Lindsay to Brechin, and Mr. John Guthry to Murray.

But King Charles followed another way, and without any consultation had with the bishops, preferred men by moyen at court; so upon Buckingham's commendation, Dr. Lesley was made bishop of the Isles, and at the intreaty of James Maxwell of the bed-chamber, Mr. John Maxwell made bishop of Ross, and by the archbishop of Canterbury's Moyen, Mr. Thomas Sydeserfe was made bishop of Brechin, and Dr. Wedderburn bishop of Dunblain; and when Sydeserfe was removed from Brechin to Galloway, Mr. Walter Whitford was made bishop of Brechin, by the moyen of the earl of Stirling, the secretary of Scotland.

Now among these late bishops whom king Charles preferred, none were generally esteemed gifted for the office, except bishop Maxwell, of whom it cannot be denied, but he was a man of great parts; but the mischief was, they were accompanied with un-

bounded

bounded ambition; for it did not content him to be a lord of the secret council (as were the rest) but he behoved also to be a lord of the exchequer, and a lord of the session extraordinary, and at last to be lord high-treasurer, which proved fatal to them all.

Thus the young bishops, not having been beholden to the old bishops for their preferment, for that cause they depended not upon them, but kept a fellowship among themselves apart; and happening to gain an intimacy with the archbishop of Canterbury, caused him to procure from the king, power to himself to prescribe things to the old bishops, which they did not well relish.

Another advantage the adversaries had, was the discontent which daily encreased among the ministry, because of the bishops too much slighting of them; yet was not this to be imputed to the old bishops, who were prudent and humble men, and gave respect to all honest and deserving ministers as their brethren, but it was the fault only of the younger bishops, who indeed carried themselves so loftily, that ministers signified little in their reckoning.

And the third was the most fatal of all, and this was the statesmens treachery towards them; for when they, who in his majesty's absence should underprop them, do undermine them, it is ominous; yet so was it then, albeit all professed for them, yet under-board most of them wrought against them, being partly led on by the treasurer, and partly irritated

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tated by the younger bishops pride, and their too much meddling in state affairs.

Now things being in this posture, providence afforded the fairest occasion their adversaries could have wished, for appearing in action against them; and this it was. The king at his coming to Scotland in the year 1633, had brought with him Dr. Laud, then bishop of London, shortly after archbishop of Canterbury (one who had much power with his majesty, but was generally hated by the people.) He, beholding our form of worship, did, in conference with our bishops, and others of the clergy, tax the nakedness thereof in divers respects, but chiefly for our want of a liturgy, whereby he thought all might be helped. The old bishops replied, "That in
" king James's time there had been a motion
" made for it, but that the presenting thereof
" was deferred, in regard the articles of Perth,
" then introduced, proved so unwelcome to
" the people, that they thought it not fit nor
" safe, at that time to venture upon any farther innovations, and they were not yet
" without some fear, that if it should be gone
" about, the consequence thereof might be
" very sad." But bishop Maxwell, and with him Mr. Thomas Sydeserfe (who was then but a candidate) and Mr. Mitchel, and others, pressed hard that it might be, assuring that there was no kind of danger in it; whereupon bishop Laud (who spake as he would have it) moving the king to declare it to be his will, that there should be a liturgy
in

in this church, his majesty commanded the bishops to go about the forming of it.

How soon this came to be noised, the perfecting of the frame was not more wished by the Episcopal men, than by those of the contrary judgment, albeit, upon different accounts; the former to express their acquiescence in the king's will, or (possibly) thinking it a good to the church; but the others presumed (wherein they were not mistaken) that the noise of it would startle the whole nation, so as to render them inclinable to engage in a war for opposing it, which they thought might readily infer the extermination of Episcopacy, with all the dependencies of it.

The bishops, in the mean while, were busy about the work, and at length, towards the end of the year 1636 compleated it, after which nothing wanted, but to get it authorized, and so made practicable.

Which while they were about to do, there arose a clamour against them (which upon the sudden spread throughout the whole land) that religion was undermined by a conspiracy betwixt the archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops, and that they (being suborned by him) were bringing in the mass-book. This wrought so upon people every where, that all men concluded there was no way to eschew a public rupture, but to suppress the book; and indeed the archbishop of St. Andrews, with the wisest of his brethren, laid it to heart, and wrote to the archbishop of
Canter-

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Canterbury to deal with the king, that the book might be kept back, till the nation were better prepared to receive it; which possibly would have been hearkened unto, if our bishops had been harmonious anent it; but those among them who had been lately preferred (being hot-blooded, and wanting somewhat of the experience which the elder sort had) went not along with them, but complied with the treasurer's opinion that the work should go on: Concerning which, the treasurer having gotten some lines under their hands to the archbishop of Canterbury, his lordship posted away to court, and there suggested to Canterbury, that there was no danger to be apprehended, only the old bishops were timorous men, and feared where no cause of fear was; in token whereof, if his grace would move the king to lay his commands upon him, he should, upon his life, carry through the business, without any stir, Canterbury (being ignorant that the treasurer's zeal for promoting the work, was to ruin the bishops, especially he having brought him letters from those amongst them with whom he corresponded most) was so affected with the treasurer's speeches, that albeit he thought not fit that a work of that nature should be committed to a laick, yet procured to himself a warrant from the king, to command the bishops (upon all hazards) to go forward in it; threatening them withal, that if they lingered in it longer, the king would turn them out of their places, and fill the
same

same with vigorous and resolute men, who would not be afraid to do him service.

The bishops having, at the treasurer's return, received this peremptory command, were not all alike well pleased; the younger bishops were overjoyed, and esteemed the treasurer their best friend, who had obtained the thing they desired; but the wise old bishops were of another mind, and thought more than they spake; however now they had nothing left them, but either to do or die. Whereupon (and being mightily encouraged by the treasurer's ample promises of assistance and sharing in their lot) they did cast away their fear, and went to work.

And indeed it is remarkable, that thereafter they acted so far contrary to those rules of prudence and policy, whereby they had been accustomed to manage their affairs, that all men began to espy a fatality in it.

For they laboured not (as formerly they had done in lesser matters) to have their book brought in by an ecclesiastical sanction, but having gotten it authorized by an act of council, proceeded without more ado to urge the practice thereof. Whereby they provoked against themselves the most part even of those ministers that were Episcopal in their judgment, who thought it a very sad matter, that a liturgy should be imposed upon the church, without the knowledge and consent of the church; and judged it such a dangerous preparative, that thereby the civil power might in after-times introduce any thing (tho' never
so

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so hurtful to religion) and the church never get one voice in it: And they were the more offended, in regard king James, of blessed memory, had never pressed any thing that way, but whatsoever he would have done, used to take a church way in it.

Neither did they at first urge the practice of their liturgy upon the remotest dioceses, and other places, where there was the least averſeness from ſuch changes, but made the first essays where opposition was most probably to be expected.

Thus they began the work in the city of Edinburgh, where upon the 16th of July 1637 (at their command) the ministers in their ſeveral pulpits made intimation that the next ſabbath (being the 23^d) the ſervice-book would be read in all the churches, extolling the benefit of it, and exhorting the people to comply with it.

When the next ſabbath was come, two of thoſe ministers that had made the intimation (viz. Mr. Andrew Ramſay, and Mr. Henry Rollock, having gotten ſome notice of the opposition that was to be made) kept the old way of worſhip, and meddled not with the book; but the reſt reſolved to read it; and that the work might be done in St. Giles's kirk with the greater ſolemnity, the biſhop of Edinburgh came there himſelf from Holyroodhouſe to aſſiſt at it.

No ſooner was the ſervice begun, but a multitude of wives and ſerving women in the ſeveral churches, roſe in a tumultuous way,
and

and having prefaced a-while with despicable exclamations, threw the stools they sat on at the preachers, and thereafter invaded them more nearly, and strove to pull them from their pulpits, whereby they had much ado to escape their hands, and retire to their houses. And for the bishop (against whom their wrath was most bent) the magistrates found difficulty enough to rescue him; and when they had brought him without the church, he was yet in danger to have been murdered in the street, had not (by providence) the earl of Roxburgh (who by the death of Thomas earl of Haddington had lately been made privy-seal) received him into his coach, which drove so quickly, that they could not overtake them.

This tumult was taken to be but a rash emergent, without any predeliberation; whereas the truth is, it was the result of a consultation at Edinburgh in April, at which time Mr. Alexander Henderson came thither from his brethren in Fife, and Mr. David Dickson from those in the west country; and those two having communicated to my lord Balmerino and Sir Thomas Hope the minds of those they came from, and gotten their approbation thereto, did afterwards meet at the house of Nicholas Balfour in the Cowgate, with Nicholas, Eupham Henderson, Bethia and Elspa Craig, and several other matrons, and recommended to them, that they and their adherents might give the first affront to the
book,

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book, assuring them that men should afterwards take the business out of their hands.

The matrons having undertaken so to do, Mr. Alexander Henderson returned to Fife, Mr. David Dickson retired to the west, having, by the way of Stirling, and other places where he halted (lest notice should be taken of his being at Edinburgh at that time) given out, that his errand there was to convoy Mr. Robert Blair to a ship, who professed to intend for Germany, to preach to a regiment; whereas in the mean time they had other things in their heads.

Notwithstanding the affront in Edinburgh (which should have made the bishops more wary) the next attempt was also inconsiderate, being made in the east part of Fife, where the bishop of St. Andrews caused a messenger charge Mr. Alexander Henderson and Mr. James Bruce to read the book, under pain of horning.

This Mr. Henderson had been in his youth very Episcopal, in token whereof, being a professor of philosophy in St. Andrews, he did, at the laureation of his class, chuse archbishop Gladstones for his patron, with a very flattering dedication, for the which he had the kirk of Leuchars given him shortly after; and before he had been many years there, fell into intimate acquaintance with Mr. William Scot in his declining days. Upon Mr. Henderson all the ministry of that judgment depended; and no wonder, for in gravity, learn-

ing, wisdom, and state-policy, he far exceeded any of them.

Always he and the other being charged, had their recourse to the privy council; and upon the twenty-third of August supplicated their lordships for a suspension of the charge. The lords of the council did take the supplication to heart, and wrote to the king thereanent, desiring to know his mind against the twentieth of September, to which day the supplicants were referred for answer.

The bishops expected the council should have rejected those ministers supplication, and also inflicted some exemplary punishment upon those that acted in the tumult at Edinburgh; and when neither was done, they (knowing the treasurer's power in council to be such, that he ruled matters at his pleasure) began then to be jealous of him, when it was too late.

However, the good acceptance which Mr. Henderson and the other found at council, being communicated to their correspondents in several parts, there followed thereupon much trafficking throughout the country, for drawing numbers to Edinburgh against the next council diet, and not without success; for upon the nineteenth of September arrived there the earls of Rothes, Cassils, Eglinton, Home, Lothian, and Wemyss; the lords Lindsay, Yester, Balmerino, Cranstoun, and Loudoun; and besides those, divers burghesses and ministers from Fife, and the west-

ern shires, all which upon the morrow presented their supplication against the book.

The oracle whom the supplicants consulted anent the legality of their proceeding, was Sir Thomas Hope (his majesty's advocate) who, tho' he professed to have no hand in the business (being the king's servant) yet in the mean time privately laid down the grounds and ways whereby they were to proceed; and, that he might not be remarked, pitched upon Balmerino and Mr. Henderson to be the men, who, from time to time, should come to him, and receive his overtures.

The treasurer yet professed to be for the bishops, but bewrayed himself abundantly, not only by his private correspondence with the supplicants, but also by his carriage in public, which tended altogether to direct them to hound fair, and encourage them to go on.

Besides those, some other lords spoke favourably in council of the supplicants, and passionately rebuked the bishops; amongst whom they did take most offence at the earl of Morton, in regard, that he of all Scotsmen (the marquis of Hamilton excepted) had tasted most deeply of the king's bounty: But by this time the bishops were become so despicable, that neither Morton, nor any others valued their offence; yet was it thought a reason why his lordship did the sooner return to court, lest in his absence they might inform to his prejudice. However, the council deferred answer to the supplicants until the seven-

seventeenth of October, writing in the meantime to the king, what height the stir was come to, and intreating his majesty's answer against that day; likeas the duke of Lenox being present (who had come to Scotland to attend the burial of his mother, the countess of Abercorn, and was the next day to begin his journey to court) they desired his grace to represent the business fully to his majesty, and so the council dissolved.

The supplicants, upon the morrow thereafter, met again at their several cabals, and unto the ministers were joined Mr. Andrew Ramsay, and Mr. Henry Rollock, where the main thing treated in their meeting was, how the brethren throughout the kingdom might be made to concur with them (in regard few as yet appeared, except from Fife, and the western parts;) and so it was laid upon Mr. Henry Rollock to deal with those of Lothian, Merse, and Teviotdale; Mr. Andrew Ramsay to take the like pains with those of Angus and Mearns; Mr. Robert Murray to travel with them of Perth and Stirling shires; and an advertisement was ordered to be sent to Mr. Andrew Cant, to use the like diligence in the north; and so the ministers disbanded for that time. On the seventeenth of October multitudes of people from several parts of the land flocked to Edinburgh to join in supplicating, and that so generally, that beside the increase of noblemen, who had not been formerly there, there were few or no shires on the south of the Grampian hills, from which

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came not gentlemen, burghers, ministers, and commons.

Yet if his majesty's answer, which the council received, had tended to discharge the service-book (as peaceable men expected and wished) the most part had returned home well satisfied; and those that were otherwise minded, would have staid with a thin back; but, instead thereof, the first thing the supplicants heard, was a proclamation at the mercat-cross, ordaining the service-book to be practised at Edinburgh; and other places adjacent; the council and session to remove from Edinburgh, first to Linlithgow, and thereafter to Stirling, and the whole supplicants to depart out of Edinburgh towards their own homes, within twenty-four hours, under pain of horning.

This irritated the people of Edinburgh so, that the next morning the women fell to work again, and assembled on the street to the number of three hundred. Their place of rendezvous was Forrester's Wynd-head; and their first attempt was upon bishop Sydeserfe, who going to the council-house with Francis Stuart, son to the late earl of Bothwell, for examining some witnesses in his business, was invaded by those women with such violence, that probably he had been torn in pieces, if it had not been that the said Francis, with the help of two pretty men that attended him, rescued him out of their barbarous hands, and hurled him in at the door, hold-

holding back the pursuers until those that were within shut the door.

Thereafter the provost and bailies being assembled in their council, those women beleaguered them, and threatened to burn the house about their ears, unless they did presently nominate two commissioners for the town, to join with the supplicants; which, to compesce the tumult, they were forced to do; and so these matrons disbanded for that day, having nothing more committed to them at that time by those that hounded them out.

The noise of the town of Edinburgh's being joined to the supplicants, had such influence upon the boroughs, that whereas the most part of them had formerly lain by, very shortly after, all of them (Aberdeen only excepted) came into the cause; and indeed, being once engaged, turned the most furious of any; so that neither their own ministers, nor any other that disliked the course, could be in safety among them.

Notwithstanding the proclamation, whereby the supplicants were commanded to depart forth of Edinburgh, &c. they remained nevertheless in town, and met the next day at their several tables, for consulting what was next to be done; where, lest such ministers as were not upon the secrets of the business, should (for fear of contravening the proclamation) have withdrawn, the noblemen behoved to advertise them, which otherwise they would have been loth to divulge, how they had assurance from the treasurer (not

withstanding the proclamation) no notice should be taken of their remaining in town, provided they kept within doors, and did not appear on the street; whereupon, tho' they abode in their meeting-houses all that day, yet the most part of it was spent ere they fell upon business, in regard that Balmerino and Mr. Henderson were all that while with Sir Thomas Hope, getting their lessons.

How soon they returned from him to the lords, Mr. Henderson brought from them a proposition to the ministers, That whereas they had formerly supplicated to be freed from the service-book, &c. they might now tax the bishops for their contrary party, complain of them as underminers of religion, and crave justice to be done upon them; but to this many of the ministers were very unwilling, professing that they came there only to be freed of the service-book, and otherwise had no quarrel to the bishops, which being reported to the noblemen, they sent the earl of Rothes and lord Loudoun to persuade the ministers; who, with their long orations (wherein was a mixture of allurements and threatenings) prevailed so upon the ministers, that the challenge against the bishops. (being prepared before-hand) was instantly subscribed by them all, and delivered to the clerk of the council, and also copies thereof given them, to be carried home to their several presbyteries and parishes, to be subscribed by all ranks, and returned again the next council

cil day, which was to be the fifteenth of November.

This being done, the ministers were demitted for that time, and returning home, thundered so from their pulpits, that against the fifteenth of November, multitudes of all sorts of people (in greater number than formerly) from all quarters, came to Edinburgh with their supplications.

And among other nobles (who had not been formerly there) came at that diet the earl of Montrose, which was most taken notice of; yea, when the bishops heard that he was come there to join, they were somewhat affrighted, having that esteem of his parts, that they thought it time to prepare for a storm when he engaged.

Always the number being so great (in regard the council diets were not so frequent) the noblemen considered the multitude could not remain in town to attend the same; and therefore, after some days stay, they appointed that certain out of every state should be chosen, to abide with them constantly at Edinburgh, and wait upon the diets of council for answer, and the rest to return home, which was done.

The council sate thereafter at Dalkeith (the lord treasurer's residence) where the noblemen and commissioners that attended them, did, on the nineteenth of December, present unto the council a declinature against the bishops, that they, being now made party, might not sit and vote in that judicature:

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The lord treasurer, Sir James Carmichael, treasurer-depute, Sir Thomas Hope, advocate, and Sir John Hamilton, justice-clerk, did all at that diet discover themselves more clearly for the supplicants, than formerly they had; the earl of Roxburgh, lord privy-seal, was more reserved; but none of the statesmen spoke cordially for the bishops, except Sir John Hay, clerk-register.

The result of the council was, to send up the lord treasurer to inform the king of the height the business was come to: the bishops that were present opposed to the uttermost that he should be employed, but were not able to hinder it, in regard, Roxburgh and the chief of the counsellors were eager for it; and so his lordship began his journey to court upon the twenty-first day of December 1637.

1638.

UPON the eighth of January the council and session (in obedience to the proclamation of the seventeenth of October) met in Stirling, and continued there until the end of February.

Upon the fourteenth of February, the treasurer returned from court to Dalkeith; whereupon the noblemen and commissioners residing at Edinburgh, sent privately to him his neighbour the lord Cranstoun, to bring them intelligence how matters ruled above.

Upon

Upon the sixteenth of February the treasurer came to Edinburgh, where he stayed till the nineteenth (and spoke with them at length) and then at two o'clock in the morning he posted away to Stirling.

What notice the noblemen had from himself of his diet, was concealed, and they professed to have learned it only by some footmen of their own, who lodged in the stabler's house, where the treasurer's horses stood.

Always no sooner was the treasurer gone, but (as if they had been surprized therewith) they gave an alarm through the town, and convened all by three o'clock, and immediately dispatched after him the earl of Home and lord Lindsay, that if any proclamation were published at Stirling, before they could come that length, those two might (in their names) protest against the same; and Home and Lindsay posted so fast, that they passed by the treasurer in Torwood, and were at Stirling an hour before him.

Upon the treasurer's arrival, the chancellor presently called a council, and at ten o'clock caused to be published at the mercat-cross his majesty's proclamation, approving the service-book, &c. and discharging all meetings to the contrary, under pain of treason: Home and Lindsay protested against the proclamation, taking instruments in the hands of Mr. David Forrester, notary; the rest of the noblemen then at Edinburgh followed towards Stirling as fast as they could, having first sent posts through the Lothians,

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and to Fife and Perthshire, warning all that loved the cause to come to Stirling with all possible haste.

The noblemen from Edinburgh arrived at Stirling at four o'clock in the afternoon, and ere midnight the town was full of armed men, that came upon their call from all quarters.

The next morning it went current, that archbishop Spotswood the chancellor would get the same measure, which his predecessor archbishop Hamilton had many years before gotten in that town; and indeed the giddy sort would have had it so.

But the noblemen, and the wisest of the ministers, abhorred the motion, and so nothing of that kind was attempted; only having spoken with the treasurer, and others of the council, and commissioned Arthur Erskine of Scotsraig, and Sir William Murray of Pomais, to renew their declinature at the first diet of council, the noblemen, and all the rest (reckoned above 2000) rode straight from Stirling to Edinburgh, there to consult what was next to be done; whereof the issue was, that after some days advisement and consultation with Sir Thomas Hope, and other lawyers, they resolved upon a covenant, to be subscribed by all that would join with them.

And so upon the first of March 1638, they being all assembled in the Gray-friers church, and church-yard, the covenant (having been prepared before-hand) was publicly read, and sub-

subscribed by them all with much joy and shouting.

The archbishop of St. Andrews being then returned from Stirling to Edinburgh, when he heard what was done, said, "Now all that we have been doing these 30 Years past is thrown down at once;" and, fearing violence, he presently fled away to London (where the next year he died;) so did also such other of the bishops, as knew themselves to be most ungracious to the people; only four of them staid at home, whereof three delivered their persons and fortunes from sufferings, by their solemn recantations; those were Mr. Alexander Ramsay, bishop of Dunkeld, Mr. George Graham, bishop of Orkney, and Mr. James Ferly, bishop of Argyle; but the fourth, Mr. John Guthry, bishop of Murray, as he chose not to flee, so upon no terms would he recant, but patiently endured excommunication, imprisonment, and other sufferings, and in the midst of them stood to the justification of Episcopal government until his death.

Many copies of the covenant were sent through the country to the several presbyteries, boroughs, and parishes, to be subscribed; which was every where done with joy, except in the north parts, where many opposed it.

Upon the noise of the general acceptance which the covenant had, the council met again at Stirling upon the tenth of March, and sent up Sir John Hamilton, justice-clerk, to inform

form the king how business went; who, at his return upon the twentieth of April, delivered to the council a letter from his majesty, wherein he called for the lord treasurer, the lord privy-seal, and the lord Lorn, to repair to court, that he might consult with them what to do.

Those three went up immediately, and after conference with them, his majesty resolved to send down James, marquis of Hamilton, commissioner, with power to settle all.

The lord Lorn returned upon the twentieth of May, but the treasurer and privy-seal remained at court until the commissioner was ready to take journey; and the reason of Lorn's haste was talked to be a counsel, that his father (the earl of Argyle, who resided at court) gave the king, which was, to keep his son with him, and not let him return to Scotland, or else he would wynd him a pirn (that was his expression.) The king thanked Argyle for his counsel, but said, "He behoved to be a king of his word;" and therefore, having called him up by his warrant, would not detain him.

So Lorn was dismissed, and came quickly home, and was the first that told of his majesty's purpose to send the marquis of Hamilton; and indeed when the noise of it spread, the few that remained anti-covenanters were much discouraged, expecting no good by him; yea, they spared not in their public discourses to revive the story of that debate which
had

had been betwixt the lord Rea and David Ramsay, concerning his pretensions to the crown, and many other things to the nobleman's disadvantage.

Always his grace came to Dalkeith the tenth of June, accompanied with the treasurer, privy-seal, and others, where the lord Lorn also waited upon him. Against which time the noblemen and commissioners residing at Edinburgh, had advertised all the covenanters throughout the land to come there; and indeed they made such an appearance, that they reckoned to be convened at that time above twenty thousand, and of ministers above seven hundred.

But few of the ministers were so much courted by the noblemen, as those who the year past had come over from Ireland, in regard they found by their pulse how ready they would be to go with them to the utmost of their designs. Whereas they had suspicion of many others (and not without cause) that how soon they should go beyond that which they called reformation of the church, and encroach upon the king, they would fall away.

The speedy provision for those ministers was heartily recommended by the noblemen; and accordingly Mr. Robert Blair was planted in Air, Mr. James Hamilton in Dumfries, and the rest of them in Galloway and the places adjacent; all being vacant by the flight of those who had formerly served there; who for their disaffection to the covenant, were
so

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so persecuted by the people, that they found no way to save their lives but by present abandoning their country.

By this time returned from the north the earl of Montrose, Mr. Alexander Henderson, and Mr. David Dickson, who had been sent thither upon this occasion. It was presumed that the influence which the town and clergy of Aberdeen had upon the shires adjacent, was the cause of their averfeness from the covenant; and therefore were they employed to go there, and work their conversion. At their first arrival, no ministers from the northern parts came to them, except only Mr. Andrew Cant, minister at Pitsligo; yet they had the confidence to engage in dispute with the doctors of Aberdeen, and there passed betwixt them replies and duplies on both sides, which were printed. The anti-covenanters boasted that their doctors had the victory in the dispute; which was not to be admired; for Mr. Dickson and Mr. Cant could make little help to Mr. Henderson; and for him, (though it cannot be denied that he was a learned man) yet, without wronging him, it may be thought, that he could not well hold up against all those doctors, who for their eminency in learning were famous not only at home, but also throughout other churches abroad.

Howbeit, those doctors continued obstinate (whereby thereafter they came to be so persecuted, that, for saving their lives, they were forced to flee out of their country)

try) yet Montrose, with the assistance of those three ministers (whom Mr. Forrester, in his litany, called the apostles of the covenant) prevailed with many of the citizens to subscribe the covenant, and by their example had the like success with most of the ministers and people throughout the shires adjacent; and so being accompanied with a great multitude of proselytes, they returned to Edinburgh in due time to wait upon the treaty with the lord commissioner his grace.

The day whereon the commissioner came from Dalkeith to Holyroodhouse, he passed by the sands of Leith, upon the knowledge whereof, the noblemen made all the people to be drawn forth to that place, whereby his grace might see their numbers; the ministers kept in a body by themselves, and had Mr. William Livingston, minister at Lanerk, in readiness to declaim an oration to him, which being told him, he discharged it.

After his settling in Holyroodhouse, the covenanters nominated to attend his grace, and treat upon the affairs, John earl of Rothes, James earl of Montrose, and John lord Loudoun, and with them Mr. Alexander Henderson, David Dickson, and Andrew Cant.

At the first meeting, his deportment to them was stately and harsh; so that upon the fourth of July he caused to be published at the cross of Edinburgh a proclamation, tending rather to approve than condemn the service-book, and other novations complained on, which was solemnly protested against by many thousands

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sands present; and the protestation was read by Mr. Archibald Johnston, and instruments taken in the hands of three notaries; which was done by the earl of Cassils, in the name of the nobility; by Mr. Alexander Gibson of Dury, the younger, in the name of the gentry; by James Fletcher, provost of Dundee, in the name of the boroughs; and by Mr. John Ker, in the name of the ministers; and the said Mr. Archibald Johnston was reader thereof, in the name of all who adhered to the covenant.

Upon the morrow those lords and ministers returned to his grace, and found him more plausible in treating with them, even publicly before Roxburgh, Southesk, the treasurer-depute, and justice-clerk, and other counsellors that were present; but that which came to be most talked of, was something which at their parting he told them in private; for, having desired those lords of council to stay in that chamber till his return, himself conveyed them thro' the rooms, and stepping into the gallery, drew them into a corner, and then expressed himself as follows:

My lords and gentlemen, " I spoke to
 " you before those lords of council as the
 " king's commissioner; now there being none
 " present but yourselves, I speak to you as
 " a kindly Scotsman: If you go on with
 " courage and resolution, you will carry
 " what you please; but if you faint and
 " give

“ give ground in the least, you are undone:
 “ A word is enough to wise men.”

This having been spoken in private, I should not have mentioned, were it not that it came shortly after to be public, and reports anent it were so different, that some made it better, and others worse than it was.

My warrants for what I have set down are these, 1st, That the same very day Mr. Cant told it to Dr. Guild, who the next morning reported it to Mr. David Dalgleish, minister at Cowpar, Mr. Robert Knox, minister at Kelso, and Mr. Henry Guthry, minister at Stirling.

2dly, The said Henry being that night with the earl of Montrose at supper, his lordship drew him to a window, and there told it him, in the very same terms wherein Dr. Guild had reported it to him; adding that it wrought an impression, that my lord Hamilton might intend by this business, to advance his design; but that he would suspend his judgment until he saw farther, and in the mean time look more narrow to his walking.

The commissioner, to avoid the indiction of an assembly and parliament, lay quiet at Holyroodhouse, and after some days abode there, retired to his house at Hamilton.

Always, the next day the lords and ministers returned to his grace again, and after some debates told him plainly, that nothing but a parliament and general assembly could settle the

the business. His grace craved leifure to make a journey to court for procuring the same; whereunto they agreed, and so he went away upon the ninth of July, promising to return with his majesty's answer before the twelfth of August: And, to pacify them a little, did (before his going away) send a proclamation to the mercat-cross of Edinburgh, for the council and session to sit there again, which was presently obeyed.

Upon the eighth of August the commissioner returned, and the morrow declared in council that he had obtained from his majesty allowance to indict a parliament and assembly, provided the covenanters should first condescend to some preparatory articles. Whereupon peaceable men trafficked much to dispose them to a condescension, but all in vain; for those articles being upon the thirteenth day offered to them, were rejected. After which his grace told them that his instructions did not warrant him to grant any parliament and assembly, until his majesty were further supplicated; and therefore desired time until the twentieth of September to go to the king for that end, which upon the twenty-third of August was by them condescended unto, upon condition that thereafter no more delays should be sought. So that day his grace began his journey to court.

And in his absence there was a treatise printed at Edinburgh, and spread, holding out reasons for the church's power to keep assemblies without the magistrate's allowance,

in case of his averſeneſs, which ſhewed the deſign intended, in caſe his majeſty ſhould happen to reſuſe.

The commiſſioner returned upon the ſeventeenth of September, and having convened the council, his grace and the whole lords thereof (according to his majeſty's command) did upon the twenty-ſecond day ſubſcribe that covenant, which of old in the year 1580, had been ſubſcribed by king James and his council, and by the body of the land; and they alſo by proclamation at the croſs of Edinburgh diſcharged the ſervice-book, the book of canons, and high commiſſion, declaring the Perth articles to have no force, and indicted a general aſſembly to ſit at Glaſgow upon the firſt of November 1638, and a parliament at Edinburgh upon the fifteenth of May 1639.

Upon the hearing thereof all moderate men were overjoyed, expecting that the covenanters would now be well ſatisfied (and ſo indeed would the moſt part of them have been, that went on in ſimplicity;) but the leaders, whom the reſt durſt not contradict, inſtead of acquieſcing, went boldly to the mercat-croſs with a proteſtation, wherein, as they profeſſed to accept the favours granted them in that proclamation with thanks, ſo did they proteſt againſt the tenor of it, as being in other things not ſatisfactory: Mr. Archibald Johnſton read their proteſtation, and inſtruments thereupon were taken in the hands of three notaries, by James earl of Mon-

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Montrose, in the name of the nobility; by Mr. Alexander Gibson of Dury, the younger, in the name of the gentry; by George Porterfield, burgess of Glasgow, in the name of the boroughs; and by Mr. Henry Rollock, in the name of the ministers; and Mr. Archibald Johnston was reader thereof, in the names of all that adhered to the covenant.

This carriage stumbled very many, and made them apprehensive, that the leaders of the business had more in their designs than as yet they professed; but they carried things with so high an hand, that none had the courage to speak against them; all went along, tho' with a secret reluctance; and it was no wonder, in regard, that by this time (the lords of the council excepted) they had well near engaged the whole nation to the covenant, yea, even the most part of the highlanders also; those of them that had dependence upon the house of Argyle, such as the counties of Argyle, Lorn, Kintyre, Cowal, and Breadalbine, were furious asserters of it, to gratify their superior the lord Lorn (who, altho' he professed to stand by the king, and in every thing went along with the council, yet was known to be cordial for the covenanters, and to have intimate correspondence with them;) and for the rest, albeit in their hearts they abhorred the covenant, yet (to avoid the wrath of great men, and thinking it the most probable way to escape suffering) they also went along with the multitude.

The

The commissioner, since the indiction of the assembly and parliament, lay quiet at Holyroodhouse, and after some days abode there, retired to his house of Hamilton, to wait upon the diet of the assembly.

But the noblemen, and certain commissioners of the other estates, abode still at Edinburgh, and kept up their cabals there, for preparing matters for the assembly.

And, first, that with the more legality they might have the bishops secluded from claiming to be members thereof, the tables appointed the several presbyteries where bishops had resided, to summon them (as trespassers) to the assembly, some of them for faults alledged in their calling, others in their conversations, and some for both, which was accordingly done.

Next the tables at Edinburgh were careful to inform the presbyteries concerning the constituent members of the assembly, that there should be from every presbytery two ministers at least, and three at most, together with one ruling elder.

And as to the qualifications of the ministers that were to be chosen, to the end that such as they suspected to be falling from them might not be pitched on, they prescribed divers caveats to be looked to in their election; as that none should be chosen who had formerly been the king's chaplains, or members of bishops chapters, or who had been justices of peace, or upon the high commission, and generally those of whom they
had

had not certain persuasion that they were fixed their way.

And for the ruling elders, as there was to be but one from each presbytery, so they enjoined that he should be a well-affected nobleman, if any such had lands within the bounds of that presbytery, and failing thereof a well-affected gentleman; whereby it came to pass, that all the noblemen who were furious in the cause, were elected either in one presbytery or other, and so became members of the assembly.

And lest their private instructions sent to the presbyteries should be publicly known, whereby their adversaries might esteem them prelimitations, and upon that account impugn the freedom of the assembly; therefore at the receiving of them, the brethren of each presbytery took an oath of secrecy, which was very ill kept; for, before the assembly met, they were talked of every where, and brought to my lord commissioner's knowledge.

When the diet of the assembly drew near, the tables at Edinburgh considered how fit it would be, that besides the commissioners, the gentry of the country should be drawn thither, to guard the assembly, and make it terrible to gainsayers; for which end they found out a pretty device: there were then some robbers aloft in the highlands, of whom they made the bruit to pass, that they would come down and beset the ways, and do violence to the commissioners in their journey to
Glas-

Glasgow; and that for preventing thereof, it was fit, that all who were zealous in the cause should convey their commissioners thither, and guard them during their sitting; which was done.

The assembly sate down the twenty-first of November, 1638, and old Mr. John Bell, minister of the town, did break up the assembly.

The lord commissioner being present, was attended by the lords of council, amongst which was my lord Lorn (who is to be hereafter called earl of Argyle, upon his father's death, which fell out at that time) his lordship attended my lord commissioner as a privy counsellor, not having as yet declared himself avowedly for the covenant.

Mr. Alexander Henderson was chosen moderator of the assembly, Mr. Archibald Johnston clerk; the lord commissioner (attended by the council) sate in the assembly until the twenty-eighth day, debating concerning the seclusion of the bishops, and other things that belonged to the constitution thereof; and getting no satisfaction, did that day at four o'clock in the afternoon withdraw, and the next morning at nine o'clock did, by a proclamation at the mercat-cross of Glasgow, discharge the assembly, under pain of treason; which was solemnly protested against by many hundreds there present, and instruments taken thereupon in their names by the earl of Rothes.

Not-

Notwithstanding the proclamation, the assembly presently thereafter met, and sate daily, for divers weeks, until they had done their affairs, and were themselves pleased to dissolve.

The earl of Argyle came in that day to the assembly, and sate constantly there until the close. His joining them caused great rejoicing, yet many thought the strain of the discourse he made at his entry, wanted of that prudence which might have been expected from him; for it was to this effect, "That
 " from the beginning he had been theirs,
 " and would have taken that cause by the
 " hand as soon as any of them did, if it had
 " not been, that he conceived that his professing hitherto for the king, and going along with his council, was more available
 " to them, than if he had declared himself
 " at first for them."

Always Argyle's example, together with the lord commissioner's so quiet deportment, being in the midst of the country where his power lay, wrought so upon the lords of the council, and other noblemen also (who had formerly stood out) that many of them, during the time of the assembly, and others of them shortly after, joined to the covenanters.

The chief things that were done in the assembly were these; all preceding general assemblies since the year 1605 were declared null; the service-book, the book of canons, the book of ordination, the high commission, together with the five articles of Perth, were

all

all condemned; that covenant which had been allowed in the year 1580 by king James, and this, to be declared substantially one, and that Episcopacy was in the former abjured. The bishops were all deposed, and most part of them excommunicated (those being excepted from that censure that submitted to the assembly;) many ministers were also deposed, and commissioners appointed to sit in several places after the rising of the assembly, for deposing the rest that should happen to persist in opposing the work; and ordaining Mr. Henderson's transportation from Leuchars to Edinburgh, they concluded that a letter should be framed and sent to the king, for obtaining his royal assent for all things that were done.

So upon the twentieth day of December 1638, the assembly rose in triumph: And upon the twenty-fourth the commission authorized by the assembly sate down.

The commission which sate at Edinburgh needed no long process with the ministers thereof, in regard the fear of violence had forced them all to flee, except Mr. Andrew Ramsay, and Mr. Henry Rollock, who were both forward in the cause, and so not liable to censure.

The first that was brought there to draw in the yoke with them was Mr. Alexander Henderson, and to his kirk of Leuchars was presented Mr. Eleazer Borthwick (he who formerly had stayed some years at London

trafficking with non-conformists there;) but before he had remained two months at the said kirk, he was by the leaders of the cause quietly sent back again to London, to prosecute that trade, where he staid till his death.

Likeas the earl of Haddington, who, after his father's death, had gone up to kiss the king's hand, remained there at that time; and it was whispered, that under profession of waiting on his majesty, he transacted that same business with the nobles, which Borthwick did with the citizens, and others of the inferior rank, and thereof kept intelligence with the earl of Rothes his brother-in-law at home.

In the end of December, the lord commissioner began his journey to court, having left the country (since the rising of the assembly) all in an uproar.

1639.

AND upon the ninth of January, 1639, Mr. George Winram of Libberton was sent to court with the assembly's letter to the king; and as soon as the marquis of Hamilton told the king of his arrival and errand, the king commanded his lordship to receive the letter from Mr. Winram; and having upon the fifteenth day convened the Scottish council, caused the letter to be read in their presence,

ence, and craved their opinion anent it; who all with one voice said, it was a most humble and well-penned letter; whereupon his majesty took his answering of it into deliberation, and shortly thereafter sent down a letter to his council here (which was read upon January the twenty-ninth) bearing, that for the better settling of Scottish matters, he would be at York against the first of April, and would call the Scots council to come there and give him advice.

Notwithstanding hereof, the noblemen and ministers that remained at Edinburgh, and had the leading of the business, professed to have intelligence, that the king intended nothing but war, and was using his endeavours to raise an army, wherewith to invade this land; and upon that ground (albeit as yet there was no answer from Mr. Winram, who returned not before March twenty-first) they called a general meeting of noblemen and of commissioners from the other estates, to meet at Edinburgh upon the twentieth of February, for resolving upon a defensive war.

And being convened, and the business for which they were brought there propounded, a paper setting forth reasons for the lawfulness and necessity of a defensive war (being contrived by Balmerino, Hope, and Henderson, before-hand) was read in the meeting; whereupon all the noblemen and others convened, professed they conceived such clearness in the question, that instantly all of them

with one voice consented to the lifting of an army, and voted general Lesley to be general thereof.

Immediately these reasons were dispersed thro' all parts of the kingdom, for procuring an universal consent, and orders therewith sent to the ministers every where to frame their doctrine towards that end.

And upon the twenty-first of March, the general, accompanied with the people of Edinburgh, and all other covenanters that were in town, went, and without any dispute had the castle of Edinburgh surrendered, Mr. Archibald Halden, constable thereof, having no provision for holding it out; for albeit in October last the lord commissioner had been careful to buy out the earl of Mar (formerly keeper thereof) and get the house in his own possession, yet his grace forgot to furnish it afterwards either with men or meat; so that when general Lesley came before it, there was not one man more within, but those few servants, who, under the earl of Mar, had the keeping of it in time of peace; neither had they one night's provision by them.

Thereafter the general, accompanied as before, went the twenty-third of March to Dalkeith (which then belonged to the king) and having the house surrendered to him, brought from thence to the castle of Edinburgh, which now he had garrisoned, great store of powder and arms, which the earl of Traquair, high treasurer, had privately brought home

home from London, for the king's use; and his lordship was so unfortunate, that very shortly it came to be believed, that himself was the man that put the general upon the prize.

While the general was thus employed, there came a report from the north, that the Aberdonians were fortifying their town, and the marquis of Huntley and his friends drawing into a body; whereupon the general and his council, then at Edinburgh, appointed the earl of Montrose, with all diligence, to levy Fife, Strathern, Angus, and Mearns, and march north, for suppressing their insolence; which he did with such wonderful celerity, that upon the thirtieth of March he charged Aberdeen; and indeed the defendants were so frightened at his approach, that without dispute they submitted to him, and demolished their fortifications: Some fiery ministers that attended him urged no less, than that he should burn the town, and the soldiers pressed for liberty to plunder it; but he was more noble than to hearken to such cruel motions, and so drew away his army without harming them in the least; and marched towards the marquis of Huntley, who, upon the notice of his approach, disbanded his forces, and sent some friends to treat (himself retiring in the mean time to his house of Strathbogie, to wait for an answer;) and when his messengers returned and delivered him Montrose's answer, he came immediately thereafter himself to salute him, and upon the fifth of April subscribed

a writ substantially the same with the covenant, and conveyed Montrose to Aberdēen, as being now on his side; yet such was his levity, that the next day he resiled from the writ he had signed; whereupon Montrose restored it to him, and brought him and his eldest son, the lord Gordon, prisoners to Edinburgh, where they were warded in the castle: But his second son, the lord Aboyne, subscribed the covenant; and therefore Montrose suffered him to stay in the north.

Upon further intelligence of his majesty's preparations, after Montrose's return from the north, general officers, colonels, and other inferior commanders were elected; and a committee of war appointed in every shire, for furthering the levies, and a fourth man throughout the whole land appointed to be drawn forth with speed; likewise messengers were sent beyond sea for arms and ammunition, which was much furthered by the Scots factors in Campvere; who were all furious in the cause, and advanced much thereto, refusing to be any more subjects, in that Sir Patrick Drummond made conservator, adhered to the king.

The officers of the army being all agreed on a fortification of the town of Leith, it was begun, and advanced very fast, in regard, that beside the inferior fort, and such as wrought for pay, incredible numbers of volunteers, and those of all sorts, noblemen, gentlemen, and others, wrought at it, and none busier in bearing the rubbish than ladies of honour.

The

The next case was, how to be provided of money; and for this they insinuated with William Dick, at that time the most considerable merchant in Scotland, and flattered him so, that he (being a vain-glorious man) advanced them very great sums (whereby at last he died a beggar;) at the first, four hundred thousand merks, and afterwards much more, for the which they caused him to be made provost of Edinburgh, the place being empty by Sir John Hay's flight into England, who, with president Spotswood, who had also fled to escape violence, and the Scottish bishops, did accuse the earl of Traquair before the king, for his treacherous deportment in the Scots business, and gave in great ditties against him before his majesty; but his majesty would not be induced to take any hard course with him, to the grief of all that were loyal, and the encouragement of rogues and traitors.

The king at that time was in York, and reports came home daily to our great ones from false-hearted men about him, what his projects were, and at length, that he had attained to a considerable army, and proposed shortly to advance from York towards the borders; whereupon (great store of arms and ammunition being arrived here from Zealand, and dispersed to their several shires, whereby the soldiers were sufficiently armed) the general and his council sent new advertisement through the shires, for the whole regiments to march in all haste towards the south, and in their way to expect the general's orders where

to have their rendezvous; which was accordingly obeyed, for the zeal of people in those days made them march like Jehu.

Upon the twenty-first of May the king's navy, consisting of twenty great ships, arrived in the road of Leith, the marquis of Hamilton being commander in chief, and under him Sir John Pennington: There were said to be in the ships three thousand soldiers for land service, beside as many as the ships required; upon report whereof, the lord Aboyne took the field again, with those of the name of Gordon, and other anti-covenanters in the north, and sent an invitation to the marquis of Hamilton, that he would be pleased to employ his land soldiers to join with them, which his lordship refused; yea, he was so favourable to his native country, that until the pacification, which followed thereafter, he lay still in the frith, and never attempted any thing at all.

Yet was not that the reason why the anti-covenanters at that time spoke so loudly of the marquis's disloyalty, but it was because of some private correspondence his lordship had with the leaders of the covenanted faction, which came to their knowledge; for they understood how Mr. William Cunningham of Brownhill was sent aboard to him, and that after his return, the next night the marquis came ashore by boat to the links of Barnbougall at midnight, where my lord Loudoun met him, and had two hours conference with him; and that afterwards
his

his lordship returned to his ships, and Loudoun to those that sent him.

This coming to be known, furnished occasion of much talking to his prejudice, and particularly it wrought upon the earl of Montrose, to entertain further jealousy of his ways than before, which nevertheless he concealed for a long space thereafter.

By this time most part of the regiments were marched southward, and before the general's removing from Edinburgh, his excellency, and his council of war, appointed Montrose to commit his regiment to his lieutenant colonel, and himself to go northward, and raise the people of the shires and boroughs of Angus and Mearns, for suppressing the lord Aboyne and his forces; which with speed he went about, and having levied a considerable number, advanced towards them; they were reckoned to be 2000 foot, and 300 horse, and he double the number, and more.

The encounter was at the bridge of Dee, and the matter for some hours well disputed on both sides. In the end Montrose gained the bridge, and routed them, but with little blood-shed, in regard of the highlanders swiftness in flying, and that his generous mind was more eager for victory than execution.

Those in the north being suppressed, Montrose disbanded his forces in Angus, and retired to his own house, there to remain, expecting that the general and his council should have invited him to come south and attend

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his regiment; which they neglecting to do, he went not, but staid at home until the return of the army, which was shortly after.

For by that time the king having brought his army within two miles of Berwick, general Lesley called all the Scottish regiments to Dunse, where they pitched on the twentieth of May.

But both the armies (being in view of each other, tho' seven miles distant) lay quiet, without attempting any thing, until the eleventh of June; at which time the Scots sent, by the earl of Dunfermline, a supplication to the king for a treaty, which his majesty granted: The place of treating was the earl of Arundel's tent, his majesty's general: From the Scottish army went thither the earl of Rothes, lord Loudoun, Sir William Douglas of Cavers, and Mr. Alexander Henderson. At their first arrival, the king came unexpectedly to that tent, and gave them a kiss of his hand; after which, with some discourses that fell in, the treaty was adjourned until the thirteenth day, at which time they returned, and went forward in treating until the eighteenth day, upon which happily the treaty ended in pacification.

The chief articles agreed on were, " That,
 " as the king would not own their assembly
 " at Glasgow, so neither should they be ur-
 " ged to disown it: That there should be
 " a full and free assembly holden at Edin-
 " burgh upon August the twelfth, and a
 " parliament August twenty-sixth, That in
 " the

“ the mean time both the armies should disband; all captivated prisoners and places be restored to the owners; and mutual assurances from all damages.”

The agreement was upon the eighteenth of June, signed by the king, and his general and council, and upon the morrow his general, and the earl of Holland, and others came to Dunse, general Lesley's head quarters, to see it signed by him and his council of war.

And so upon the twentieth day, being Thursday, at ten o'clock, both the Scottish and English armies disbanded, and returned peaceably homeward.

One thing his majesty excepted much against, which fell out at the disbanding of the Scottish army. He having (according to capitulation) sent the earl of Morton to the Scottish army, to cause publish a proclamation, bearing, That his majesty owned the pacification, and therefore commanded them to disband, his proclamation was publicly protested against by the earl of Cassils, in the name of the rest.

This did highly displease the king, and in token that it could not well be defended, when they were afterwards challenged anent it, they denied it to have been a protestation, saying, that it was only a declaration of their adherence to the assembly of Glasgow; yet the armies were disbanded, and things were prosecuted, for a time, according to the treaty; so that the earls of Winton, Roxburgh, Lau-

Lauderdale, Haddington, and others that had been with the king, retired home.

The castle of Edinburgh was upon the twenty-second of June delivered to the marquis of Hamilton, his majesty's commissioner, who presently placed general Ruthven in it; whereupon followed on the morrow thereafter, the twenty-third of June, the enlargement of the marquis of Huntley, and his son the lord Gordon; and also upon the twenty seventh, by the marquis of Hamilton's command, the king's navy retired out of the frith towards England.

Then were those that loved peace filled with hope that our troubles were ended; but that was soon checked, by an accident which fell out upon the second of July, and imported, that the covenanters meant not to sist there; for that day the lord treasurer, with my lord Kinnoul, and general Ruthven, coming in coach from the castle through the high street of Edinburgh, the devout wives, who at first put life in the cause, did now, when it was in danger to be buried, restore it again, by invading them, and throwing stones at them.

That this breach of the pacification had private allowance, few doubted, in that those women used not to run unsent, yet it was not publicly owned; for upon the fourth of July the lord Loudoun was dispatched to the king (then at Berwick) to excuse it, and, returning, brought an order from his majesty, requiring fourteen of the Scots to repair to his

his court at Berwick, with whom he might consult anent the way of his incoming to hold the assembly and parliament in person.

Those were Argyle, Rothes, Montrose, Lothian, Cassils, Dunfermline, Lindsay, Loudoun, Sir William Douglas of Cavers, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Archibald Johnston, The provost of Edinburgh, Edward Edgar, bailie there, and the provost of Stirling.

Of those there went, upon the sixteenth of July, Rothes, Montrose, Lothian, Sir William Douglas, Edward Edgar, and Mr. Archibald Johnston, and having kissed the king's hand, his majesty commanded them to send back post for the rest, which they did.

Whereupon they prepared, as if they intended to go, but had it so contrived, that when they came to the Watergate, to take horse, multitudes were convened there to stop them, upon pretence that if they went they would be detained.

And so it resolved in this, that the lord Loudoun should write an excuse to the king, which came to his hand the nineteenth day, but was not well taken.

Upon the morrow those that were already with the king obtained dismissal, upon promise that they should return and bring up the rest with them.

But being come home, the matter was consulted, and resolved that it was not safe for them to go; whereupon Lindsay and Loudoun were sent to the king for excusing the business, and returned upon the twenty-seventh

venth of July, having left his majesty so ill satisfied, to be thus distrusted, that (instead of coming to Scotland to hold the ensuing assembly and parliament in person) he did on Monday the twenty-ninth take his journey for London.

This was loudly exclaimed upon by all that were apt to admit prejudices against him, and imputed to some advertisement from the queen, and the archbishop of Canterbury; yet was there the less reason to blame his majesty for it, that before his removing he authorized the lord treasurer to be his commissioner both at assembly and parliament.

The assembly met at Edinburgh upon the twelfth of August, and the lord commissioner sat daily therein, attended by the lords of the council.

Mr. David Dickson was chosen moderator, who betrayed such weakness in that employment, as made every one to say, *Minuit presentia famam*; yea, it had been worse with him, were it not that Mr. Henderson sat at his elbow as his coadjutor.

Upon the seventeenth of August the assembly made an act, condemning Episcopacy as unlawful, and contrary to the word of God, whereunto the lord commissioner gave his assent; and also upon the thirtieth day the assembly made another act, approving and ratifying the covenant, and ordaining the same to be sworn unto, and subscribed by all the members of the kingdom, whereunto also his grace assented.

And

And the very day when this last act was made and approved, the assembly rose in triumph, having first taken into consideration how the universities might be provided of professors, since many who formerly served there had fled away; and herein they did wisely; for seeing the people of Scotland are much acted by their ministers doctrine, it was to good purpose for them to plant such men therein as would principle young theologues their way, whereof they had the more need, because by this time the old ministers saw so far into their designs, that divers of them were falling from them, and so no way remained to keep the church constantly on their side, but that young ones (who were to succeed when they were gone) should be bred towards a liking of their cause.

As for the college of Edinburgh, there needed no pains to be taken, in regard Mr. John Adamson, primer thereof, was furious enough in their cause, albeit many thought it was not from persuation, but in policy, to eschew their wrath.

And for St. Andrews, the mother of the rest, Mr. Samuel Rutherford was brought from a landward kirk in Galloway (named Anwoth, six miles from Kirkcudbright) to be principal master of the theology college there; and to strengthen his hands the more, Mr. Robert Blair was transported from Air to be minister in that town, the former ministers Dr. Gladstones and Dr. Wishart, having both been driven away by persecution.

It was also thought upon to transport Mr. David Dickson from Irvine to be a professor in Glasgow, which shortly after came to pass; for albeit his weakness for that profession was generally known, yet, in regard he was very seditious, and had a pragmatical way of dealing with young folks, towards that end the leaders of the cause thought that his settling there might be profitable to them.

And as for Aberdeen, until they should fall upon such professors, in whom they might confide, it was determined that Mr. Andrew Cant should be transported to be a minister in that town, which afterwards was done.

This design in placing such men in the universities, was not taken notice of by those that had the charge of his majesty's affairs, yet did it in progress of time prove the most effectual means whereby that cause prevailed; for when those young men (who had their breeding under them) came forth to be ministers in the church, they were incomparably furious, and therein outstripped the elder men (even of their own judgment) so far, that if any of them happened, upon any occasion, to speak of any thing that favoured of moderation, they were therefore reckoned Laodicean politicians, &c. the madness of the time being such, that those who were most cruel were most cried up.

The parliament sate down upon Saturday the third of August, the lord commissioner being present therein.

All the acts of the assembly were ratified by parliament, with his grace's allowance, and then it was expected, that the parliament should have risen, being only indicted for that end.

But the leaders of the cause had farther projects, and instead of rising, proposed a number of new motions concerning the constitution of parliaments, and other things never treated on before, whereanent the commissioner told them he had no instructions.

Montrose argued somewhat against those motions, for which the zealots became suspicious of him, that the king had turned him at his being with his majesty in Berwick; yet they seemed to take little notice thereof, only the vulgar (whom they used to hound out) whispered in the streets to his prejudice; and the next morning he found affixed upon his chamber door a paper, with these words written in it:

Invictus armis, verbis vincitur.

The contest encreasing betwixt the commissioner and them about those motions, his grace acquainted the king therewith, who wrote to him to prorogue the parliament, and repair to court; which being told the estates, they pressed that the prorogation might be with the consent of the estates, and upon his refusal they opposed his way-going.

Whereupon he delayed his voyage, and sent the earl of Kinnoul to represent the matter

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ter to the king; likeas the estates sent up Dunfermline and Loudoun for their interest, who being arrived, were discharged from coming within a mile of the court; whereupon they returned without access.

And the king, by his letters, commanded the commissioner to prorogue them till the second day of June 1640, without their consent; which being done upon the first of November, they protested to the contrary; and the protestation, being prepared before-hand, was presently read by Mr. Archibald Johnston, and instruments thereupon taken by the earl of Rothes; so the parliament disbanded for that time.

And the next day the lord commissioner began his journey to court.

As likewise upon the seventeenth of November Mr. William Cunningham of Brownhill was sent up by the committee of estates with a supplication to his majesty, for a protection for commissioners to come thither and clear his majesty's scruples.

The commissioner returned December eighteenth, and upon the morrow transported privately from Holyroodhouse to the castle of Edinburgh, the crown, with other regal honours; yet was so unfortunate, as even in that to be esteemed faithful to the cause, in regard that before night it came to be publicly known.

Always, having done that business he came for, his grace returned next day to court; and upon

upon the twenty-third of December arrived Mr. William Cunningham, and brought with him a protection for commissioners to repair to court.

1640.

WHEREUPON did assemble at Edinburgh upon the nineteenth of January, 1640, a great meeting of the estates and prime ministers (without whom nothing could be done) and commissioned to go up to London, Dunfermline, Loudoun, the sheriff of Teviotdale, and Mr. Robert Barclay, burgesses of Irvine, who began their journey January thirty-first.

The next emergent concerned two of his majesty's ships, which upon the fifteenth of February arrived in Leith road, and sent a messenger ashore, to deliver to the provost and bailies of Edinburgh a letter from his majesty, wherein he commanded them under pain of treason, to convey with a strong guard to the castle of Edinburgh the men and furniture which was in the ships.

The provost and bailies having consulted the noblemen and others that were in town, got their allowance to obey the command, and so upon the twelfth day they were safely conveyed to the castle, being in number 100 soldiers, 80 muskets, with as many pikes, with some cannon, powder, &c.

And

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And upon the morrow was sent up (to shew his majesty their ready obedience) George Wachop, burges, who returning upon February twenty-sixth, reported, that upon the twentieth day the commissioners had kissed the king's hand, but that he refused to hear them; and had appointed them to give in writing to the earl of Traquair whatsoever they would say: As also, that the commissioners willed him to advertise their friends at home to expect war; the king having, for getting assistance thereto, called a parliament in England to meet April the thirteenth.

Whereupon, without any farther certainty, were sent for all the noblemen, commissioners of shires and burghs, and leading ministers, to convene at Edinburgh upon March the tenth; and being met, concluded the levying of an army; and ordered the ministers present to advise the brethren throughout the land to frame their doctrine accordingly.

The harmony at this conclusion was not so cordial as the year before; for, seeing religion was now, according to their desires, settled both in assembly and parliament, they could hardly persuade men to believe it to be the state of the question. Many conceived the design to be against the king, and whispered anent it; but had not the confidence to speak out. They on the other side waxed the more insolent and bold, by reason of an advertisement they received of what had befallen the commissioners at London; for they
had

had certainty that the lord Loudoun was imprisoned in the tower, and the rest arrested and delivered in keeping to sheriffs; the occasion whereof was this.

The parliament of England having met April thirteenth, the king, in his speech, inveighed against the proceedings of the Scots, and produced a letter subscribed in April 1639, by many of their great ones, to the king of France for his assistance; which letter had come to his majesty's hands by this providence. At the subscribing of it there happened to be some of the great men absent, whom these present wished also might subscribe it: For which end they committed the letter to Mr. Archibald Johnston, appointing him, as he found opportunity, to get their hands to it; but through negligence he lost it out of his pocket; and so it passed from one to another, until it fell into Sir Donald Gorram's hand, who delivered it to the earl of Traquair, and he to the king.

The miscarriage of this letter they supplied afterwards by another of the same strain, to the French king, with one to cardinal Richlieu, both which were sent to France by Mr. Colvil, brother to Sir Robert Colvil of Cleish. Always, of that letter which, thro' miscarriage, came to the king's hand, he made his own use; and indeed the parliament of England was so affected therewith, as to be concurring with that course, which was taken with the Scottish commissioners, wherein the lord Loudoun had a harder measure given

given him than the rest, because his hand was found at the letter.

This emergent made those at home more eager for getting up of an army, and so was there a general meeting called, to be at Edinburgh upon April sixteenth, for electing of commanders to govern the army.

Where, without any contradiction, old Lesley was chosen general, as before; but tho' it was expected, that (because of the disaffection of many of the noblemen, which began of late to appear) there should have been a great change of officers, yet the contrary fell out, and the same who had formerly been in charge were pitched upon; so Almond was made lieutenant general, Montrose had two regiments given him, one of horse, the other of foot, the lord Erskine the regiment of Stirling shire, the lord Drummond a regiment in Perth shire, and so of the rest.

Neither did they decline the employments, which was thought as strange, and made many to apprehend they had some design in it, to the prejudice of the cause, altho' nothing appeared thereof till afterwards.

There was also a council of state chosen, and orders sent to the several shires to chuse councils of war therein, and to hasten the levies.

Whereunto they were much encouraged by the news, which upon the eleventh of May John Halden, servant to the lord Loudoun, brought down, that upon May fifth the

the king had raised the parliament of England, because they refused a subsidy for invading this country, until their own grievances were first redressed.

As also, that since the raising of the parliament, the king had caused some members thereof to be imprisoned, whereupon the apprentices in London went, in an uproar, to Lambeth, and searched for the archbishop of Canterbury, but found him not (he having escaped to the court at Whitehall) and therefore they affixed upon the court gates, and other public places these lines,

*Let king and queen do what they can,
Yet Laud shall die like Dr. Lamb.*

Upon May twenty-seventh returned home Dunfermline, with the sheriff of Teviotdale, and Mr. Robert Barclay, the lord Loudoun being still in the tower.

And in regard the Scots parliament had been upon the first of November last prorogued by his majesty's commissioner till the first day of June, there came, upon May the twenty-eighth, from the king a letter to some lords of his privy-council, in whom he yet confided, to prorogue it again by his authority until July; those lords consulted his majesty's advocate anent it, who resolved them that his majesty's warrant sent to them for prorogation was so informal, that it could not subsist in law, and therefore they did not urge the prorogation. So the parliament sate down the
second

second of June, without his majesty's allowance, or any commissioner from him.

In it general Ruthven was forfaulted, for refusing to surrender the castle of Edinburgh, and all his money, wherein his estate consisted, escheated to the public.

As also a great committee of estates was chosen, twelve of every estate, whereof one half to be with the general in the camp, to dispose of military affairs, and the other half to remain at Edinburgh, for ruling matters at home. Mr. Adam Hepburn was chosen clerk to that committee, who going to the field with the general, deputed one Mr. Robert Hepburn to serve the committee at Edinburgh, who so enriched himself thereby, that being formerly very poor, he did shortly after purchase the barony of Keith-mareschal in east Lothian.

Upon the eleventh of June the parliament adjourned until the nineteenth of November next, that in the mean time they might employ themselves in advancing the levies.

And the committee of estates, being shortly after set down, they sent a peremptory advertisement to the several shires, to cause their regiments to march forwards without delay, where in the way they might expect the general's orders concerning the time and place of rendezvous.

Likeas the ministers residing at Edinburgh for public affairs, wrote to the several presbyteries, to bestir themselves in their pulpits, and otherwise, for accelerating the same.

And

And that they might have wherewith to encourage soldiers of fortune at their going out, the committee found out a pretty overture for raising money, which was, that all who had silver work should bring in the same to the public to be coined, and the owners to receive bonds from noblemen and others for the worth thereof.

This relished ill, at first, with the rich burghers; but when once the ministers undertook the management hereof, by their preaching in public, and private trafficking with their wives, they became so forward in obeying the same, as made the royalists to liken it to the golden calf. Mr. Alexander Gibson of Dury, junior, being made commissioner general, received all.

Neither were they more ready to lend, than noblemen and gentlemen were to give bond; whereanent some prophesied, that they would possibly repent it, before the work were at an end, which indeed came to pass.

And it was observed, that of all others the prime committee men subscribed the fewest bonds, and Argyle, who was the chief, none at all, which was then little observed, in regard the giddiness of the times was such, that men thought it a credit to be taken notice of so far by them, as to be desired to put their hands to the bonds.

Always, hereby they obtained great sums, and the joy they had therefore was much augmented, by my lord Loudoun's return

D

from

from his imprisonment, who arrived at Edinburgh, July the third. The marquis of Hamilton having been the man that procured his liberty, royalists thought he might have a design in it for his own good, having thereby obliged this nation.

By this time the whole regiments were marched southward, and upon the twenty-seventh of July were brought together in Chanfley wood; where, by common consent, it was resolved to march into England, a declaration being first sent before, wherein they obtested the all-seeing God, that they intended not the least diminution of the king's honour and greatness, nor any prejudice or hurt to England with the army, but only to seek their peace.

And it being concluded, that Argyle's highlanders should not be taken along with the army to England, his lordship procured an employment for them at home; for the people of Athol, and the Ogilbys in the braes of Angus, being suspected to carry no good-will to the cause, a commission was given to the earl of Argyle to take order with them.

So he levied three regiments, whereof two were his own men, and the third Glenorchy's, and therewith marched forward to the ford of Lion; upon notice whereof, the earl of Athol drew his people together, reckoned to be about twelve hundred, and encamped against them.

By

By this, Argyle concluded, that the Athol men had a mind to fight, whereunto neither himself nor his people were thought very willing; and therefore finding the occasion of Sir Patrick Ogilby of Inshmartin at the Ballach, Argyle employed him to draw the matter to a treaty, which he went about; and, being the earl of Athol's brother-in-law, prevailed so far, that having, according to the warrant which Argyle gave him, assured them of safe access and recess; the earl of Athol, and with him eight special gentlemen of his country, went with Inshmartin to the earl of Argyle's tent, conferred with him at length upon the business; and having received from him some articles to be advised upon, left him for that time, to go back to their people, who were very ill-minded, and would gladly have had a bout with the Argilians.

But having passed his inner guards, when they came to the outward guard they were stopped; whereupon they returned to the earl's tent to complain; but he replied, "That his guard was wiser than himself, he being to ly that night at Glenorchy's house, it was fit they should go with him, and there confer at length:" And that compliment being passed, he told them plainly they were his prisoners; and when they replied, "That they came thither upon his assurance, signified to them by the laird of Inshmartin, which they hoped he would not violate;" he answered, "That he was not to debate

“ with them thereanent, but would be ac-
 “ countable for his deportment in that affair
 “ to those from whom he had his commis-
 “ sion:” So, without more ado, he com-
 manded them to send an order to their people
 to disband, which was done; and they them-
 selves kept that night as prisoners at Ballach,
 and next day sent with a convoy to the earl
 of Perth, steward of Strathern, requiring him
 to send them to Stirling, which he did; from
 thence they were conveyed to Edinburgh,
 where for some days they were imprisoned,
 until they gave assurance of their good beha-
 viour, and then they were enlarged, and per-
 mitted to return home.

And as they were very sensible of the trick
 which Argyle had put upon them, in draw-
 ing them to his tent, upon assurance, and af-
 terwards flinching from it, so the same wrong-
 ed his credit exceedingly, in the judgment of
 all men that looked indifferently upon it, and
 made his parole afterwards to be little re-
 garded.

But he cared for none of those things, and
 so began to march downwards to the braes of
 Angus, altho’ he knew there was little work
 for his highlanders there; for the house of
 Airly, which was the only place that, in
 those fields, had been fortified for the king’s
 service, was surrendered to the earl of Mon-
 trose before his marching to the south, who
 had placed therein colonel Sibbald, and writ
 to the earl of Argyle, that he needed not to
 be

be at the pains to draw his people thither, seeing the house was already gained.

But the earl of Argyle (whether it was to disoblige Montrose, or to keep his highlanders in exercise, I shall not determine) did nevertheless advance, and coming before the house, called colonel Sibbald to come forth and speak with him, which he did, being at that time on the same side of the cause; whereupon Argyle commanded to cast open the gate, and bring his soldiers forth.

So upon July the sixth, Argyle returned to his house, and stayed there for a week, his highlanders in the mean time pillaging all the country about very miserably.

And thereafter, having dismantled and slighted the house, he did, upon the fourteenth, lead them northward to Glenilley, where they burnt Forter, another house belonging to the earl of Airly, and from thence returned homeward, loaded with as much plunder as they were able to transport.

Upon the last Tuesday of July the general assembly sate down at Aberdeen, without any commission from his majesty: Where the first thing that occurred was, the receiving of Mr. John Paterson, minister at Foveren, into the covenant. He had at first fled to England to avoid it, but shortly after repented, and came home again, and upon his application to his presbytery, was referred to the general assembly, before which he made a recantation sermon, wherewith the

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assembly professed to have so full satisfaction, that he was received to their fellowship.

The next thing done therein was, an act against conventicles (called by the owners thereof private meetings) which was upon this occasion.

As soon as Episcopacy had been thrust out of this church, there came from England one Thomas Livingston, a taylor, and another, Mr. Cornall, a chirurgeon (both supposed to favour the Brownistical way) and from Ireland a fleece of Scots people, who being dissatisfied with the forms of that church, had long ago forsaken the public assemblies thereof, and betaken themselves to conventicles; of whom the most eminent were the laird of Lecky, and one John Kelso, formerly one of the goodmen of Duchall's ploughmen. These arriving in the west of Scotland trafficked with the people in those parts, to comply with their way, of seeking edification by private meetings; wherein their success was the greater, in that Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, and others, were said to countenance them therein.

Upon the hearing whereof, the soundest of the ministers throughout the land were deeply affected, doubting that course might lead to Brownism in the end, such as Mr. Andrew Ramsay, Mr. Alexander Henderson, Mr. William Colvil, Mr. David Dalgleish, Mr. Robert Knox, Mr. Edward Wright, Mr. Henry Guthry, and many more, especially Mr. David Calderwood (who in the
time

time of his exile had seen the wild follies of the English Brownists in Arnheim and Amsterdam;) and therefore, at the former general assembly in Edinburgh, in the year 1639, these purposed to have had an act against the same; but Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, and the rest of their stamp, opposed that motion, and proponed instead thereof, that there should be a conference, whereby brethren might unite their judgments upon the question, and afterwards by private admonition they would prevail with those people to amend what was amiss.

This was hearkened to, and the conference was at Mr. Alexander Henderson's chamber; where were present, on the one part, the said Mr. Alexander Henderson, Mr. Andrew Ramsay, Mr. David Calderwood, Mr. William Colvil, Mr. David Dalglish, Mr. Edward Wright, and Mr. Henry Guthry; on the other part, Mr. David Dickson, moderator of the general assembly, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, Mr. James Hamilton, Mr. John Livingston, Mr. John Maclellan, and Mr. George Dick; and after reasoning at several diets, in the end, Mr. Dickson, and all his adherents, passed from the point, and agreed unanimously to this conclusion, viz.

“ That whatsoever had been the effects
 “ of private meetings of persons from divers
 “ families for religious exercise in time of
 D 4 “ trouble

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“ trouble or corruption (in which case many
 “ things may be commendable, which other-
 “ wise are not tolerable;) yet now, when God
 “ hath blessed us with peace, and with the
 “ purity of the gospel, they could not but
 “ disallow them, as tending to the hindrance
 “ of the exercises of each family by itself,
 “ to the prejudice of the public ministry,
 “ and to the renting of particular congrega-
 “ tions, and by progress of time of the whole
 “ kirk, besides many offences that may come
 “ thereby, to the hardening of the hearts
 “ of natural men, and the grief of the
 “ godly.”

This conclusion being agreed upon, was
 subscribed in all their names that had been upon
 the conference, by Mr. Alexander Hender-
 son for the one part, and Mr. David Dickson
 for the other, and the custody of the paper
 committed to Mr. Henry Guthry.

Likeas Mr. David Dickson, and his adhe-
 rents, did farther undertake, by their admo-
 nitions, to reclaim these conventiclers, and
 make them leave that way.

Whereupon the brethren of the other part
 went from the conference well satisfied; but
 the event declared they made no conscience
 of what they had undertaken, and that what-
 soever they had condescended to, was only
 to put by that assembly.

For afterwards they were so far from per-
 forming what they had promised, that their ad-
 monitions turned to encouragements, where-
 by

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by the conventiclors grew more bold than formerly, and prevailed with people so generally throughout the west, that they met with no rub, until they came the length of Stirling, where they found so harsh entertainment, as made them quickly to withdraw, esteeming that town an unhallowed place; yet elsewhere they found welcome enough (even in Edinburgh itself) where their way came to be so cried up, that such as favoured, or kept, those private meetings, were by the rigid sort esteemed the godly of the land, and others that opposed them were calumniated, as being, in their opinion, reckoned unfriends to piety.

Hereupon the assembly at Aberdeen took the matter into consideration, whether those private meetings should be allowed or condemned. Mr. Dickson, Rutherford, and others of their stamp, pleaded so vehemently for them (having the assistance not only of the most part of the ministers, but also the ruling elders from the west) that it was likely they must have carried it, had not, by providence, Mr. Guthry happened to have in his pocket that paper which contained the judgment of the brethren (at the conference at Edinburgh the year preceding) upon the question, which was subscribed by Mr. Henderson and Mr. Dickson, in all their names: Mr. Guthry kept up this paper, until he saw the business in hazard to miscarry; but then produced it in the assembly, and being read, and Mr. Dickson's hand found to be

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at it, for himself and all his party, Mr. Dickson, and his adherents, were pleased afterwards to be silent; and very unanimously the assembly made an act against those private meetings, not so much as one man protesting to the contrary.

Thereafter the assembly appointed a solemn fast to be kept throughout the kingdom, for a blessing upon the army.

And so the assembly rose upon the sixth of August, having first appointed the next general assembly to sit at St. Andrews upon the third Thursday of July 1641.

Upon Friday, August twenty-first, the Scots army entered England. The earl of Montrose leading the van, did, to encourage his soldiers, alight from his horse, and go through the river of Tweed on foot; howbeit many thought that in his heart he was turned royalist.

Upon the twenty-eight of August the Scots army obtained a signal victory at Newburn ford upon Tyne, which was after this manner.

The earl of Strafford, general of the king's army, which then lay at York, had sent the lord Conway with 4000 foot and 2000 horse to guard that pass, so that when the Scots came up, they found them so fortified on the other side of the river, that it would prove very difficult to beat them from their works; yet they resolved to attempt it, and the first party that was appointed to advance, was the college of justice's troop, called the
general's

general's lifeguard, commanded by Sir Thomas Hope younger, son to the king's advocate, whom his father had bred, as also all the rest of his children, towards the love of that cause; but Sir Thomas and his troop were scarce well entered the ford, before they wheeled about, and retired with discredit.

Then succeeded a gallant man, major Balandine, who, having with him but a very small party, with undaunted courage, went through, beat the English from their works, and cleared the passage for the whole army to cross over and fall upon the English, who fled with that haste, that 80 of them only were slain upon the place, and 40 taken prisoners.

The rest of that day was spent in expressions of joy for the victory, and next day they were saluted by commissioners from Newcastle, come hither to treat for the surrender of the town.

So, upon Sunday, August thirtieth, the Scots army entered Newcastle, where they found the king's magazine, both of arms and victuals, as also an opportunity of enlarging Mr. Colvil, who had been sent by them to France with letters to the French king and cardinal Richlieu, and in his return happened to be caught at Berwick, and from thence was sent prisoner to Newcastle.

That day Mr. Henderson preached in the great church of Newcastle, and after sermon the

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the general and noblemen were feasted by the mayor.

So there was great joy among the Scots there; but that very day there fell out a sudden and sad accident at home; the earl of Haddington having avowedly fallen from the king's side, and taken charge under Lesley, was left at home with his regiment, to wait upon the motion of the garrison of Berwick, and for that end kept his quarters at Dunglass, where about mid-day, he being returned from the fields, and standing in the close with 60 gentlemen, or thereby, about him, the castle of Dunglass was blown up with powder, the magazine being kept therein, and one of the walls thereof falling that way, did in an instant carry him and all his company to the ground, and cover them so, that they were never more seen.

This tragical emergence was constructed, according as men were affected to the cause. When news of it came to the court, the royalists there were not (by far) so moderate as the king himself, whose sharpest expression was, "That, albeit he had been very ungrateful to him, yet he was sorry he had not at his dying some time to repent."

Upon the morrow after the Scots army had entered Newcastle, the earl of Lothian was made governor thereof, having for that service the command of 2000 soldiers allowed him; and that trust he well deserved; for his zeal to the cause was such, that, albeit both his father and himself owed to the king what-

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whatsoever wealth or greatness they had, yet was he one of the first that engaged against him, and still continued most forward of any.

Unto the Scots army was granted for allowance for every day eight hundred and fifty pounds sterling, whereof 300 l. to be paid out of Northumberland, 350 l. out of the bishopric, and 200 l. out of the town of Newcastle per diem.

And the army being thus provided for, the general and his committee (for making good what they had averred in their declaration from Chansly wood) resolved upon a supplication to be sent to his majesty, then at York, for redress of their grievances; and the same being subscribed, was enclosed in a letter directed to the earl of Lanerk, secretary, to be by him presented to the king, and the carriage of it committed to one named Cathcart.

The king's answer by his secretary was, that his majesty had called a meeting of the peers of England to be at York, September twenty-fourth, before which time he willed them to set down their demands in particular, and then to expect a particular answer.

In obedience whereto, having condescended upon their demands, they did, upon the eighth of September, send them to his majesty by William Fleming, son to the earl of Wigton; upon the hearing whereof, and other pressing reasons, general Ruthven did, upon the nineteenth of September, render

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to the committee that sat at Edinburgh, the castle thereof, upon condition, that the lives of himself, and his soldiers, should be safe, and they to come with cocked matches, and have safe conduct to Berwick; all which was performed to him.

These emergents were very refreshful to the covenanters; but there fell out at that time one thing which exceeded them all.

For that very day, upon which the king received the Scottish supplication, there was also presented to him a supplication signed by several peers of England, in number about twelve, wherein they craved a parliament for redress of grievances, and settling peace betwixt the nations: When the report thereof came hither, then did the zealots say, that Haddington and Mr. Borthwick had not laboured in vain, and that the work would shortly begin in that kingdom also.

The king was said to be much affected with the English supplication; yet did his majesty give it a fair and delaying answer, until the meeting of the peers.

And when they had met his majesty at York, September twenty-fourth, the conclusion was, that a parliament should sit at London upon the third of November; and, in the mean time a treaty with the Scots to begin October first, and the place of meeting to be at Rippon.

There were nominated of English to be upon the treaty 15 noblemen (whereof most had signed the petition) viz. the earls of Bedford,

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ford, Hertford, Essex, Salisbury, Warwick, Bristol, Holland; and lords Wharton, Paget, Kimbolton, Brook, Paulet, Howard of Effcrick, Savile and Dunsmoor: And for the Scots, the earl of Dunfermline, the lord Loudoun, the laird of Waughton, the sheriff of Teviotdale, John Smith, bailie of Edinburgh, Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, clerk of Dundee, Mr. Alexander Henderson, and Mr. Archibald Johnston.

The treaty being met at Rippon, October first, did; upon the sixteenth thereof, conclude upon a cessation of arms until December sixteenth; and that the treaty should remove from Rippon to London, to be prosecuted there in time of parliament, ratifying in the mean time that proportion formerly granted to the Scots army of 850*l.* per diem, and the payment thereof weekly to be upon each Friday.

Whilst all things thus prospered with the Scots, there happened an emergent in their army, which threatened a rent; for divers of the nobility, such as Montrose, Erskine, Drummond, and others, quarrelled, that they were neglected in the matter of consultation, and that business was contrived, and carried on by a few. Upon the other part, Montrose was challenged for writing letters to the king without the knowledge of the general and committee; the copies of which letters they had, being sent them, as many deemed, by some bed-chamber man, who searched the king's pockets when he was asleep.

The

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The rigid faction knew that the lord Almond, lieutenant general, was in his heart concurring with Montrose and his associates, and so considered, that if any provocation was given them, they were able to make a division in the army: For preventing whereof, they condescended to a fair transaction for that time, viz. that bygones on both sides should be passed by, and matters thereafter publicly carried on without neglect or disrespect of any.

The parliament of England met at Westminster, November third. To the Scots commissioners that formerly treated at Rippon, were added, by common consent, the earl of Rothes, the laird of Riccarton, and Hugh Kennedy burgesses of Air, who, with the rest, went to London to prosecute the work.

Upon November nineteenth, the Scots parliament assembled, and having re-established the committee, adjourned till the fourteenth of January 1641.

The committee being set down at Edinburgh, had news which pleased them well, viz. that the earl of Strafford was challenged, and made prisoner, which having been furthered by the Scots commissioners, was esteemed very good service, as also that shortly thereafter the archbishop of Canterbury had that same measure given him; but that the lord-keeper Finch, and secretary Windbank, had escaped their hands by flight.

Those commitments proceeded chiefly from the knights of the lower house, who were

were solicitors to the house of peers there-
anent.

And having engaged so far against his ma-
jesty's servants, they were the more careful
to oblige the Scots army to stand sure. For
which end they borrowed from the London-
ers fifty thousand pounds sterling, and sent it
in a propyne to the general and his commit-
tee, to be distributed by them throughout
the army: And this gratuity to be altoge-
ther without prejudice to the 850 l. sterling
payable daily to them; and this was done
in December.

1641.

UPON the fourteenth of January 1641,
the Scots parliament met again, and
having re-established the committee of estates,
adjourned until the thirteenth of April.

After which the committee being set down,
the principal business that came to be consi-
dered, concerned a band found to be a-
mongst a number of noblemen, wherein they
had combined to oppose the course of those
who then ruled all.

This band had been framed at Cumber-
land, there being present the earls of Mon-
trose, and Wigton, lords Fleming, Boyd, and
Almond, all which subscribed it at first; and
afterwards Montrose drew to it the earls of
Marshall, Mar, Athol, Kinghorn, Perth, Kelly,
Home,

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Home, Seaforth; and the lords Stormont, Erskine, Drummond, Napier, Ker, and divers others. But long thereafter the band was kept up as a secret, only their liberal talking for the king's interest, and against Argyle, and the rest, with the ministers that were of their party, made many apprehend that there must be some tie amongst them; and at length the lord Boyd being a dying, whispered something anent it, which gave men occasion to search, but was not so clear as to resolve them.

Whereupon the earl of Argyle taking the occasion of my lord Almond's being at home at Calendar, came thither, and having staid two nights with him, had a full relation of the whole business.

And the discovery being by Argyle reported to the committee, Montrose, and so many of the banders as happened to be at home at that time, were cited to appear.

They acknowledged the band, and gave their reasons why they had joined in it; all which were rejected by the committee, and they declared censurable.

And indeed some of the ministers and other fiery spirits, pressed that their lives might go for it. But Argyle and his committee considered that they were too strong a party to meddle with that way, especially seeing divers of them having the command of regiments in the army; and therefore they consulted to pack up the business upon a declaration under their hands, that they intended

ed nothing against the public, together with
surrendring of the band, which the com-
mittee having gotten, caused it to be burnt.

In the mean time the king and the Scots
commissioners at London were in good terms,
and they waited frequently upon him, where-
by he imagined they had been in a way of
relenting; but they soon gave him cause to
change his opinion: For without so much
acquainting him therewith, they emitted
a declaration, wherein they expressed their
forwardness against Episcopacy in England,
and for the earl of Strafford's blood and Can-
terbury's. His majesty took this very ill at
their hands, but could not help it.

The Scots parliament sate again April thir-
teenth, and having re-established the commit-
tee, prorogued to the twenty-fifth of May.

And the committee of estates being sitting,
received from those at London upon the nine-
teenth of May the certainty of the earl of
Strafford's execution, who being condemned
of treason, had been beheaded upon Tower-
hill, May twelfth.

The Scots parliament sate again upon May
twenty-fifth, and having re-established the
committee, adjourned of new to the fifteenth
of July, in regard of the advertisement they
had from the commissioners at London, that
the king purposed to be present at that session
of parliament; as also the king himself did
write to the lords of his council, and the ma-
gistrates of Edinburgh, to make preparation
for him.

After

After the adjournment, the committee of estates sat presently down upon the twenty-sixth of May, where there came before them an unfortunate business: It begun at Mr. John Graham, minister of Auchtermour, who was challenged for a speech uttered by him in prejudice of the earl of Argyle. He acknowledged the speech, and gave for his informer Mr. Robert Murray, minister at Methven, who being present, confessed it, and gave for his author the earl of Montrose.

Montrose being challenged, acknowledged it, and condescended upon the Speech, viz. That when the earl of Athol, and those eight gentlemen with him, whom the earl of Argyle made prisoners, were in Argyle's tent at the ford of Lion, Argyle spoke publicly to this sense, " That they had consulted both lawyers and divines anent the depoling of the king, and gotten resolution that it might be done in three cases, 1. Deposition. 2. Invasion. 3. Vendition; and that once they thought to have done it at the last sitting of parliament, and would do it at the next sitting thereof."

Montrose gave up Mr. John Stuart, commissary of Dunkel, one of those gentlemen that was with the earl of Athol in Argyle's tent, for the author thereof, and did undertake to produce him.

Therefore, lest Montrose's enemies should have dealt with Mr. John to withdraw and leave him in the hazard, he posted quickly away

way some gentlemen to Mr. John, with whom he came to Edinburgh upon the thirtieth of May; and upon the morrow appeared before the committee, and subscribed a paper, bearing all that Montrose had affirmed in his name; whereupon Argyle broke out into a passion, and with great oaths denied the whole and every part thereof, whereat many wondered.

Always, the committee did send Mr. John prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, and some days after my lord Balmerino, and my lord Murray being sent from the committee to the castle to examine him, they did try another way with him, and dealt with him, that he should rather take a tash upon himself, than let Argyle ly under such a blunder.

Being both profound men, they knew well what arguments to use for that effect, and Mr. John considering upon the one part, that Argyle's power was such, that he could not only preserve his life, but also raise him to preferment, if for the clearing him he should convict himself; and, on the other part, "That a wonder lasts but nine nights in a town," (as we use to say;) therefore he condescended to the motion, and the next day wrote a letter to the earl of Argyle, wherein he cleared him of those speeches, and acknowledged that himself had forged them out of malice against his lordship; and he likewise confessed, that (by the advice and counsel of the earl of Montrose, lord Capier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Andrew

Andrew Stewart of Blackhall) he had sent a copy of those speeches under his hand to the king by one captain Walter Stuart.

The earl of Argyle having communicated his letter to the committee, they set watches to attend that captain's return, who catching him at Cockburn's path, and finding his letters, brought him and them both before the committee, and being examined there, he was sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh.

Likeas thereafter upon the eleventh of June, Montrose, Napier, Keir, and Blackhall being all cited before the committee, were after examination, imprisoned in the castle and the reward which Mr. John Stuart received for his pains, was the loss of his head so the way which (out of a preposterous love to his life) he chose for his preservation turned to his destruction, which fell out upon this occasion.

The earl of Argyle, and the committee consulted Sir Thomas Hope, and other lawyers, upon the question, whether, seeing Mr. John had avowed his lordship of those speeches, and under his hand had took upon himself the guilt of forging them, &c. it was fit that he should suffer, or on the other part be pardoned and preferred.

The resolution was, that if Mr. John were spared, all men would think that he had been bribed to make that recantation; and that therefore it was necessary, for Argyle's vindication, that he should suffer.

Where

Whereupon the unfortunate gentleman was in the month of July condemned, and beheaded upon a scaffold erected for that end at the cross of Edinburgh.

And it was observed, that at his dying he had not that courage which is ordinary to gallant men at their deaths; the reason whereof was constructed to be an inward discontent, for bearing false witness against himself, when he found that the course whereby he thought to have rescued himself from suffering, proved the reason of it. This made him querulous against himself, as being the causer of his own death; and it was publicly talked, that he expressed so much to divers friends, especially to Mr. Henry Guthry, minister of Stirling, of whom he made choice to be assisting to him in his preparation for death, and who for that end was with him alone in the prison the day before his death from three o'clock in the afternoon till eight, and the morrow, being the day whereon he died, from ten o'clock in the morning 'till three in the afternoon, that he went to the scaffold, where also, at his earnest desire, Mr. Guthry waited upon him, and left him not, until he received the blow.

Upon July fifteenth, the Scots parliament late down, where letters from the king were read, excusing his not coming until the fifteenth of August, after which it was resolved to adjourn no more, but that the parliament should sit daily, in the mean time to prepare matters against his coming; and the first thing

thing done therein, was, that summons were issued out against the earl of Montrose, to appear before the parliament upon August thirteenth.

Whereupon Montrose desired the liberty of advocates for consultation, which was granted; but the most part of them were then so bigotted, that none of any eminence would come near him, and so necessity forced him to call for Mr. John Gilmour, whose greatest employment formerly had been to agent the affairs of bishop Sideserfe, and some others of that order. He consulted with Montrose, and albeit it was thought a small preferment for the time, yet afterwards it proved very profitable to him; for being once called his agent and advocate, other royalists, as they had occasion, employed him, and so as their number increased, his employment increased also, whereby at length he became very considerable.

By this time the treaty at London was ended, and the return of the Scots commissioners daily expected, they having obtained all their desires, and amongst the rest, not only that the whole arrears of 850 l. payable daily to the Scots army, should be satisfied before the first of September, against which time the army was to disband, but also that by and attour the same, the parliament of England, should, under the name of brotherly assistance, give unto the Scots the sum of three hundred thousand pounds Sterling, whereof eighty thousand pound to be paid before

before the disbanding of the army, and the rest thereof, amounting to 220000 l. to be paid at two terms, viz. the one half thereof at midsummer 1642, and the other half at midsummer 1643, as the acts of the English parliament thereanent, bearing dates the nineteenth and twenty-ninth of June do report.

The news whereof was very acceptable to the covenanters, especially the leading men in state and church, who knew their share would be therein: But royalists were mightily dejected, through conceiving that the parliament of England was not so prodigal, as to have granted such a sum, where nothing was owing, unless they had thereby obtained from the Scots some secret engagement to be on their side, as soon as they should begin to stir.

Upon the twentieth of July the general assembly sate down at St. Andrews, and before the choice of a moderator, transported itself to Edinburgh, where it was prosecuted. And the reason given for this novation, was, because the noblemen commissioned to be ruling elders therein, were so taken up with the affairs of parliament at Edinburgh, that they could not come to St. Andrews; and therefore the assembly behoved to go to them; as also Mr. Alexander Henderson, whom they determined to be moderator thereof, was yet but on his journey returning from London, where he had attended the treaty; so the as-

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sembly beboved to intermit some days until his arrival.

At length he came, and so upon the twenty seventh the assembly fate down at Edinburgh, he being chosen moderator thereof, and rose again August ninth.

The earl of Wemyss was his majesty's commissioner at that assembly, who complied with them in whatsoever they would.

Upon the thirteenth of August the earl of Montrose was brought before the parliament, and having replied to his charge, was continued till the twenty-fourth day, and was remitted to prison. Likeas summons were issued forth against the lord Napier, and the lairds of Keir and Blackhall, to appear August twenty-eighth.

Upon the fourteenth of August the king came to Holyroodhouse, accompanied with the Prince Palatine, the duke of Lenox, marquis of Hamilton, lord Willoughby and others, having in his way dined with general Lesley at Newcastle, and taken a view of the Scots army there.

Upon Tuesday the seventeenth, his majesty came to the parliament, and constantly fate there afterwards.

The lord Burleigh having been president at the current sessions, who had gotten the employment, because he was an implicit follower of the earl of Argyle, tho' otherwise no great plotter, was laid aside, and my lord Balmerino was elected president, who indeed had parts for it.

Upon

Upon the noise of his preferment thereto, there were different conjectures, what his deportment would be towards the king, having obligations more than any other; for his father had been by king James preferred to be president of the session, and secretary of state, and afterwards also made lord Balmerino, to be derived to his eldest son, now president of this parliament, and his second son, made lord Cowper: And finally, when for abusing his trust anent a letter to the Pope, he was condemned to suffer, the king gave him his remission: And for this lord Balmerino, his son, besides that his late majesty continued to him his father's estate and honour, the king that now reigneth had lately expressed a singular mercy to him; for being, because of that paper reflecting upon his majesty's government, which in the 1633 he had framed, and came afterwards to be divulged, condemned to die, the gracious king reprieved him, and in the end gave him a final pardon.

Hereupon many judged that Balmerino would be tender of the king's interest, but they were mistaken; no obligations had that influence upon him, to make him gratify his majesty in the least. Sir Robert Spotswood, president of the session, and Sir John Hay, clerk-register, appeared before the parliament, having been cited as incendiaries, and were sent prisoners to the castle.

As likewise upon the twenty-fourth, the earl of Montrose appeared, and was conti-

nued *de novo*; as also the lord Napier, the lairds of Keir and Blackhall, appeared upon the twenty-eighth, and were continued likewise.

By this time the Scots army returned home from Newcastle, and was disbanded, being, before their removing, satisfied of all the arrears of that sum allowed for their daily maintenance, as likewise having gotten the 80000*l.* promised by the parliament of England, to be paid at that time, as a part of the sum of 300000*l.* Sterling, conditioned to the Scots, under the name of brotherly assistance. And upon the thirtieth of August, arrived at Edinburgh commissioners from the parliament of England, to attend this parliament, viz. the lord Howard, and four of the house of commons.

Matters as yet went on very plausibly in parliament, the king giving way to whatsoever they proposed, and so their aims were disappointed for the present, until they pressed some such things as they supposed his majesty would nowise agree to, whereby a rent might have ensued.

At length upon a rumour suggested to the earl of Argyle, as he affirmed, concerning a plot intended by Ludovic earl of Crawford, colonel Cochran, and lieutenant colonel Stuart, against the marquis of Hamilton and him, they did upon October the twelfth withdraw abruptly to Kinneil.

There wanted not enough, who suggested to the king, that the plot was but pretended,
their

their design being to make a public rupture, presuming that upon their removal, the parliament should presently have broken up, and it seems his majesty was not without such an apprehension himself; for that day, after he heard they were gone, he came up to the parliament in haste, accompanied with many nobles, and above 500 gentlemen that adhered to him, and in parliament made a speech, which reflected sore upon the marquis of Hamilton, whereby he prevailed, that the parliament, notwithstanding their absence, sat still, and resolved not to break up.

Royalists laboured much with his majesty to have declared them enemies, and attempted something against them, which they thought was very feasible; but such was his goodness, that instead thereof, he consented in parliament to confine the three alledged plotters, until they should be tried, and invited Hamilton and Argyll to return; who next day came to his majesty at Holyroodhouse, and kissed his hand, being, as royalists alledged, glad of an opportunity to come back, since the design failed of getting the parliament broke up.

The plot whereupon they went away being tried to the utmost, nothing was found in it, so that those three alledged plotters were enlarged, and all the ground which Argyll could give for charging them therewith resolved in this, that one colonel William Stuart, an Orkney man, had informed him

of it. But this colonel William Stuart being generally known to be rash in his speaking, the business became ridiculous, and many concluded, that they, who knew that Stuart so well, would never have been so affected with any information that proceeded from him, as to have taken that course, except there had been a design in it.

However, being returned to the parliament, there was no more stirring in it, his majesty condescending to whatsoever they pleased to propose.

So that in relation to the officers of state, they made an act, that his majesty might not dispose of them at his pleasure, but that the same should be settled with consent of parliament; and, according thereto, the lord Loudoun was made chancellor, which fell out upon this occasion.

The king nominated the earl of Morton to that office, which his son-in-law the earl of Argyle in face of the parliament opposed with much heat; whereupon his majesty passed from it, and nominated Loudoun, which the parliament consented to.

Likewise the king nominated the lord Almond to be treasurer, but was likewise opposed; so his majesty agreed to that which the parliament pressed, viz. that the office should be discharged by a committee of four, viz. Argyle, Glencairn, Lothian, and Lindsay.

The earl of Roxburgh was by the parliament continued lord privy-seal; for, altho' himself had from the beginning sided with the

the king, yet he was not thought a great enemy to the cause, in regard his only son Henry lord Ker did in the year 1639 very unreasonably leave the king, and joined himself to the covenanters, while his majesty's army lay at the Birks, and theirs at Dunse-law, in his majesty's view, which the royal-ists thought he would not have done, his fa-ther being such an awful man, without his connivance.

The earl of Lanerk, by consent of par-liament, was settled in the office of secretary of state, and Sir James Galloway secluded therefrom, who till then pretended to it.

Sir James Carmichael was continued trea-surer deputy, which he well deserved at the covenanters hands; for, that tho' he was the king's creature, having been formerly his carver, and afterwards preferred, first to be justice-clerk, and then deputy-treasurer, yet was he as forward in the cause as any.

Sir Thomas Hope continued to be the king's advocate, who did the covenanters better service than he was willing should be known; yet, by his flattering carriage, insi-nuated so far with his majesty, that, against information enough, his majesty was ruled by him in most of the affairs which passed under his hand: Whereby he, being merce-nary, did exceedingly enrich himself.

Mr. Alexander Gibson of Dury, junior, was knighted, and made clerk-register, and Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston continued ju-stice-clerk.

It was also enacted in parliament, that the nomination of privy-counsellors should be with consent of parliament: And, according thereto, an election being presently made, some of the ancient nobility were kept in, whom (for the eminency of their place) they were ashamed to cashier: But there was an addition made of many noblemen, gentlemen, and of some burghers, all forward in the cause; whereby the major part of the council, as now constituted, being for them, they were sure their cause should afterwards receive no prejudice by the acts thereof.

It was also enacted, that the places of the session should be filled with consent of parliament: And there being four of the lords thereof who had adhered to the king, viz. president Spotswood, Sir John Hay, Sir Patrick Nisbit, and Sir John Elphinston; they were all presently deposed, and in their room, were placed Sir John Lesley of Newton, Sir Thomas Hope, junior, who was also made justice-general, Mr. Adam Hepburn, and Mr. Archibald Johnston, clerk to the general assembly, both which were knighted, as also the last of them, Mr. Johnston, had a liberal pension allowed him.

There was also another judicature established by parliament, under the name of conservators of the peace (their employment being to order all things, whereby the peace of the land, and with the neighbour kingdom might be preserved) and this consisted of all the prime covenanters.

There

There was also a committee appointed, for receiving from the parliament of England the sum of 220000 l. conditioned to be paid at terms, under the name of brotherly assistance; and upon that commission many were nominated, whereof but a few were called for, when the sum was received and distributed.

There was also a committee nominated to sit after the rising of parliament, for trial of the earl of Montrose, and of the rest of the royalists then prisoners in the castle; and the said committee was to report whatsoever should be found against them to the king; for the parliament having remitted their censure to him; thereupon, at the rising of the parliament, they were all enlarged upon security to attend that committee, as they should be called for; likeas the bishop of Murray, prisoner in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, was also enlarged, and general Ruthven was restored from his forfeiture; but nothing was done for the restoring of his money.

The king also bestowed honours upon divers of them. The earl of Argyle was made marquis; general Lesley made earl of Leven, and keeper of the castle of Edinburgh; lord Loudoun, earl of Loudoun; lord Almond made earl of Calendar; the lairds of Dudop, and Arbuthnot, made viscounts; and Mr. Andrew Murray, minister of Ebdie, having been by David viscount Stormont, preferred to the lairdship of Balvaird; and afterwards,

in the year 1633, knighted by his majesty, was now made lord Balvaird.

Many also of the prime covenanters obtained great pensions; but one thing was remarkable, wherein the king only shewed himself wilful; and this was concerning my lord Balmerino. His majesty was pressed by them to take notice of him, and to gratify him either with some honour, office or pension: And indeed his majesty's friends advised him, that since he chose that way to gain his enemies, by conferring favours on them, he would not neglect him. But nothing that could be said, prevailed with his majesty towards that end; so sensible was he of Balmerino's ingratitude.

The king's bounty was also extended to churchmen, to whom he owed as little as to any: Mr. Henderson, most eminent amongst the covenanted brethren, had bestowed upon him the rent of the chapel royal, esteemed formerly a morsel sufficient for a bishop; Mr. Gillespie had a large pension settled upon him: The professors in the universities had their provisions liberally augmented by the revenues formerly belonging to the bishops; as also out of the same, large portions were allowed to the cathedral churches throughout the land.

And for obliging the rest of the ministry to continue fixt in the cause, the parliament ordained a commission to sit in January next, to enlarge their stipends, and bring them up to a competency.

By

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By this time certainty came of the rebellion in Ireland; whereupon the English commissioners desired the king to accelerate his return to England, which the parliament assented to, as also offered to raise an army, and to send it over, for helping to suppress it, provided the parliament of England would be at the charge of entertaining the same. The English commissioners applauded the motion, and desired the parliament might appoint commissioners to repair to London, to treat upon the conditions: so there were nominated to go up, the earls of Lothian and Lindsay, and the lord Balmerino, Sir Thomas Myrton of Cambo, Sir Thomas Hope, junior, Sir Archibald Johnston, Sir Thomas Smith, bailie of Edinburgh, Patrick Bell, provost of Glasgow, and Mr. Robert Barclay, provost of Irvine, who were all so furious in the cause, as made royalists to talk broadly, that besides the Irish business, they would kindle a fire in England ere they returned.

This election of commissioners being expedited in parliament, November sixteenth, the next day an act was made for a public thanksgiving, to be kept throughout the kingdom, upon the nineteenth of January next, for the happy peace now established; and so the parliament rose upon Wednesday the seventeenth.

In the close whereof the earl of Loudoun, in the names of the nobility, and Sir Thomas Hope, junior, in name of the gentry, made congratulatory speeches to his majesty, for
giv-

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giving them full satisfaction in all things concerning religion and liberty; so that now a contented king was to depart from a contented country, and the cannon of the castle were discharged, as an echo to their discourses.

As also, that night, in the great hall of Holyroodhouse, the king feasted all the nobility; after which were mutual farewells; and the next morning early his majesty began his journey towards London.

After his departure, mens judgments were very different anent the way his majesty had taken, in bestowing such favours upon his adversaries, and making them the predominant party in all judicatures; for, albeit all agreed in this opinion, that his majesty's design in so doing was, probably, to oblige them to him, that if any disturbance should break out in England, as there was even then some appearance, they might, at least, not join against him; yet malignants, for so were all called that owned the king's interest, presuming they were so deeply engaged, that no favours would bribe them to indifference, thought that all that his majesty had done, tended only to render them the more able to ruin him.

And in that his majesty had neglected both noblemen, and others, that were really for him, they did less understand what state-policy could be therein; and whatsoever his majesty's reason might be for it, which was, possibly, to ingratiate himself more with the

covenanters, whilst they saw him so only bent to make conquest of them, that he cared not for others; yet it produced this effect, viz. that divers who had formerly engaged for him, chose thereafter to meddle no more, such as Sir Donald Gorame, the lairds of Ghight and Banff, Foveran, and others; and even those who were of most generous spirits used to say, "That men ought to do what belongs to conscience and honour, but if any engaged for him out of hope of reward, they might be readily disappointed." Yea, the lord Carnwath, who, whatsoever his personal qualities might be, was much more faithful to his majesty than many others, who had tasted as deeply of his bounty, said to this sense in a very public audience, "That he would go to Ireland, and join Sir Phelim O'neal, chief of the rebels there, and then he was sure the king would prefer him."

But tho' the noblemen and prime covenanters did, for a while, after his majesty's removing, carry themselves fairly, as if they had intended peace, yet the inferiors began to talk and call it our duty to press reformation in England; and the wives of Edinburgh, whose help to the cause was always ready at a dead lift, cried out against all, especially the ministers who were for a peaceable temper, and would be content to acquiesce in the reformation we had obtained; yea, herein they deborded so far, that they spared not Mr. Henderson himself, upon a supposition, that the king's respects to him had wrought him

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him to a moderation; and when the vulgar sort began thus to vent themselves, it being well enough known, that they used not to speak by guess, but first had their lessons given them, men began more clearly than before to discover and foresee what might be the design of the great ones.

About this time the earl of Lauderdale began to shew himself forward in the cause, his son the lord Maitland had been so from the beginning; but the father withdrew at first, and joined the king, which then made many to say, that Lauderdale had chosen the surest way of any; if the covenanters prevailed, his son's zeal would expiate his malignancy; and if the king prevailed, his adhering to him would procure quarter to his son.

However, his siding with the king obtained from his majesty a gift of the lordship of Musleburgh, reckoned worth 20000 merks per annum; and having gotten this, he turned the other way.

Many seeing this change, did at first imagine, it had been but in policy to get the king's gift through the seals (which as it could not be done without their good-will that ruled the exchequer, so would they not have done such a favour to an anti-covenanter;) but his after-actings refuted that opinion, and declared the reality of his change, in regard he became so zealous in the cause, that myself and many more heard him say in a very public meeting, "That he would live
" to see the cause not only go through
" Eng-

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"England, but also carried to the walls of
"Rome."

The earl of Dunfermline in his way went somewhat near to the other. His worthy father had been by king James preferred to be chancellor of Scotland, and earl of Dunfermline, and had also this honour, that king Charles, being then duke of Albany, was, in his infancy, educated in his family, upon which reasons his majesty carried with more than ordinary affection to this earl of Dunfermline his son, and of late gifted him for his lifetime the revenue of the lordship of Dunfermline, reckoned to be about 1000*l*. Sterling per annum.

Yet, notwithstanding thereof, was he so forward in the cause, that he had ever been chosen for the prime commissioner in all the applications they made to his majesty, which was a trust they would not have put upon any, anent whom they had not a certain persuasion that he was fixed that way.

1642.

THE committee appointed by parliament, for the trial of Montrose, and the rest that had been his fellow prisoners in the castle, did sit throughout January and February, and having called them often before them, closed the trial against the first of March, and sent the report to his majesty.

But

But nothing broke out at home of any great matters against any of them; and that which was most adverted to was, that my lord Sinclair's meddling against Montrose had produced nothing to his prejudice; whereof the case was thus :

In the month of June bypast, when Montrose was imprisoned, his chamber in the Canongate, where he had lodged, being, by order of the committee searched, and no papers of correspondence with his majesty found therein, the lord Sinclair (then more furious in the cause than afterwards) was commissioned to go to old Montrose, the earl's chief dwelling-house, and search what he could find there to militate against him. At his coming he broke open his cabinets, but found nothing therein belonging to the public affairs, only instead thereof he found some letters from ladies to him in his younger years, flowered with Arcadian compliments, which, being divulged, would possibly have met with a favourable construction, had it not been that the hatred carried to Montrose made them to be interpreted in the worst sense.

The lord Sinclair's employment having been only to search for papers of correspondence betwixt his majesty and Montrose, in reference to public affairs, he was much blamed by men of honour and gallantry for publishing those letters, but the rigid sort had him in greater esteem for it.

By this time the Scots commissioners at London advertised their friends at home, that they

they had settled with the parliament of England anent an army of 10000 men, to be sent from thence to Ireland, Carrickfergus to be their head quarters, and their maintenance to be afforded by the parliament, and therefore advised them to go about the levy.

But there came worse news about a breach begun, and like to increase, betwixt the king and his parliament of England; and that his majesty having gone to the house of commons in person, and demanded six of their members, viz. the lord Kimbolton, Mr. Pym, Stroud, Haslerig, Hampden, and Hollis, the house declared this a breach of their privilege; and that the multitude, upon that occasion, was become so tumultuous, that, to avoid affronts, the king, with his queen and children, had thought fit to withdraw, first to Hampton-court, and afterwards to Windsor.

For remedying whereof, his majesty sent a message to them, wherein he offered, for the begetting a good understanding among them, not only to pass from his demand of the six members, but also to deliver the cinque ports and the militia of the kingdom to the trust of those whom the parliament should appoint.

But tho' those condescensions were so gracious, as had not a precedent in former times, yet did they not reconcile the difference. If the Scots commissioners proved boutefeus in the business, as his majesty suspected them to be, they have to answer to God for it. Soon after the king divested himself of his own power to raise the parliament, by giving his
assent

assent to their sitting as long as they pleased, whereby he had no more authority over them; only hoped that time might gain them to moderation.

His majesty having resolved to come towards the north, the queen embarked for Holland with her daughter the princess Mary, who, upon May the second, 1641, had been married to the prince of Orange, by bishop Wren. And the king made his residence at York with the prince and the rest of his children.

Upon new advertisement from the commissioners at London, at last the army of 10000 men was levied for Ireland, old Lesley made general thereof, and Argyle, Lothian, and the rest of the rigid lords, colonels of regiments.

Montrose, and the rest of the royalists, apprehended a great deal of policy in this expedition, viz. that they might thereby have an army in readiness, whensoever they meant to join with the king's enemies in England: For it was well enough known, that they had it in their design to unite with them, altho' they had not yet begun to profess it: Nevertheless, upon April the second, the army crossed the sea, and arrived at Carrickfergus.

While his majesty remained at York, there passed several declarations betwixt his majesty and his parliament, for agreement, but were so far from producing that effect, that the differences still increased: And altho' his

his majesty, being calumniated as having authorized the Irish rebellion, did, for his vindication, offer to go to Ireland, in person, and to hazard his life for subduing it, yet would they not consent thereto, but opposed his going by a declaration to the contrary.

So distractions increased more and more, notwithstanding the fairest offers his majesty could make for accommodation, and became the more remediless, by reason of an affront which, upon April twenty-second, Sir John Hotham, governor of Hull, gave to his majesty, refusing him entrance into the town, professing to have warrant for that effect from the parliament: But whatsoever his warrant was, divine justice paid home his insolent carriage to his sovereign; for there falling out some jealousies afterwards betwixt the parliament and him, both he and his son were brought prisoners to London, and there lost their heads by that same authority whereby he had kept the king at defiance at the gate of his own town.

While matters were at a height betwixt the king and parliament, they, at Edinburgh appointed a fast to be kept throughout the kingdom in the beginning of May thereanent: And it being ordinary, whenever any plot was in hand, to grace it with a fast, it made all men to expect some great thing to follow; which was, that they sent up the chancellor to York, to deliver their advice to his majesty, and offer his pains for

accommodation. It was expected that the king should have allowed him to go forward to London, but it was said his majesty thought there were too many of them there already; therefore, instead thereof, he dispatched him home again, to convene a frequent council against May twenty-fifth, at which day Roxburgh, Kinnoul, Lanerk, and Sir James Gallo way, came down from the king to press his point.

The council being met, a great multitude from Fife and the western shires, having been privately advertised, came thither, and joined in a supplication to the council, which was presented by Haddington and Elcho for the nobility; and Scotsraig and Niddry for the gentry; two burgesses of Edinburgh for the burghs, and Mr. Andrew Ramsay, and Mr. John Moncrief, for the ministers, craving that nothing should be enacted prejudicial to the work of reformation, and the treaty of union betwixt the nations ratified in parliament; which supplication was well accepted by the council, and thanks given for it.

The banded lords, so were they called, and other royalists, upon the noise of the council's meeting, assembled also in the Canon-gate, and joined in a supplication to the council for the king's interest, which was presented by the earl of Kelly, lord Erskine, Keir, and others, but that was rejected with disdain; and the presenters checked for their boldness.

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When the king heard the result of that council's meeting, he then began to see a storm brewing in the north; and that notwithstanding the many favours, whereby, at his being there, he supposed he had gained them to an indifferency at least, yet they would unthankfully engage against him.

Hereupon the marquis of Hamilton, then with his majesty, tho' not much trusted, offered to come home, and draw over Argyle to his party, which had he done, all had been well. But being come home, as it was true that he and Argyle became so very intire, that they feasted daily together, and talked of a marriage betwixt the lord Lorn and the marquis's daughter; so it was found, that instead of reclaiming him to the king's side, the marquis went along in his way.

Which being notified to the king, his next care was how to get them rent asunder again, and to this effect William Murray of the bed-chamber offered his service, one, who had as much reason to be faithful to the king as any Scotsman alive; for he had not only kept him in his service from a child, and preferred him to that place in his chamber, but also gave him the wards and other great matters, whereby he might have become very rich, if he had been frugal.

Royalists thought Mr. Murray's carriage very unanswerable to those favours; yea, Montrose, professing to have certain knowledge thereof, affirmed he was the man, who in October 1641, sent to Newcastle the copies

pies of his letters, which he had written to the king then at York. And it was no secret, that in the year 1641, when his majesty was in Scotland, he did, by his uncle, the provost of Meffen, correspond with his enemies, and reveal his purposes to them; whereof, tho' the king was sufficiently informed both by Montrose, and others; yet such was his goodness, that, being of incomparable integrity himself, he was not inclined to be suspicious of any: Whereby it came to pass, that both Mr. Murray, and others of his majesty's servants, whose pranks were well enough known, stood not the less right in his majesty's eyes, to the great prejudice of his affairs, and the grief of all true-hearted royalists.

William Murray being come down, went straight to Hamilton, where he found the earl of Argyle with the marquis of Hamilton; and after those three had conferred some days together, they separated, and made the report to pass, that they had discorded upon the account of public business: Whereupon William Murray returned to court, as if he had wrought a difference, whereas the construction that royalists put upon it, was, that William Murray had taught them a piece of policy more advantageous to their design, than any of themselves had formerly thought on: For, whereas Hamilton professed to go for the king, yet whensoever the royalists came to be in any capacity to act for his interest, my lord Hamilton's place and part was to get

the leading of them about to Argyle's design: This was the royalists sense of the simulat division betwixt the two marquisses of Hamilton and Argyle.

Upon the last Tuesday of July, the general assembly met at St. Andrews, and Mr. Robert Douglas was chosen moderator. The earl of Dunfermline being his majesty's commissioner, presented to the assembly a letter from his majesty, full of gracious expressions to this church, and wherein he craved, in recompense of all his favours, no more but that the ministers would by their doctrine and example, labour to keep his subjects in their duty.

The letter having been read and considered, the assembly resolved to return his majesty a letter of thanks, wherein they promised so to do.

Yet the very next day, they went about a business which seemed inconsistent therewith, and it was this:

The Scots commissioners then at London, had written down to the assembly about the great appearance there was of a reformation in England, and for a proof thereof, sent a printed copy of a declaration emitted by the English parliament, shewing their intention to extirpate Episcopacy, together with a letter from some English ministers to that effect, all which were read in the assembly, and then it came to be considered what was incumbent on the assembly in that case.

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Divers of the meeting were against it, that the assembly should engage any way in reference to the matters of England, and were for waiting till his majesty's commissioner should express himself to that effect: Which had he done, they resolved to have been assisting, but since his grace kept silence, and said nothing for his majesty's interest, they were so discouraged, that they made no appearance.

And so it was resolved, that the assembly should write answers thereto, testifying the great content they had to be thus certified of a reformation there, and wishing the prosecution of the same; and the lord Maitland was pitched upon as the assembly's commissioner to go up to deliver their answer; and besides the letters which were publicly read in the assembly, he had several instructions given him in private.

This being done, it was in the next place moved, that the assembly should nominate a commission of certain of their number, to sit frequently at Edinburgh, and to correspond with the parliament of England from time to time for advancing of that work.

The establishment of that commission was opposed by divers moderate men in the assembly, out of a fear that it would encroach upon the affairs belonging to the ordinary judicatures of the church, and so prove prejudicial to them: But this objection was taken away by the profession of those who urged it, that this commission was not to meddle with
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the affairs belonging to the ordinary judicatures; but only to correspond with the English for promoting reformation there, and to continue no longer than that cause required; and so by the plurality of voices the commission was established.

The assembly rose the sixth of August, having first appointed the next assembly to sit at Edinburgh upon the first Wednesday of August, 1643.

The next occurrence was the sad news of the distractions betwixt the king and parliament, that both were going to arms, the earl of Essex being, by the parliament, chosen general of the foot, and Bedford of the horse: And, by the king, the earl of Lindsay general of foot, prince Rupert of horse, and general Ruthven field marshal; and that the king's standard was to be set up at Nottingham, August twenty-first; all which proved true.

Levies on both sides being begun, the parliament's greatest assistance, both for men and money, was from the city of London; and, in regard that most soldiers of fortune joined to the king, the greatest scarcity was of officers: For a supply whereof, some were sent from Scotland, viz. Sir James Ramsay, Mr. John Middleton, and James Hepburn, whom they so welcomed, that ere long they were preferred to be major generals; two more Scotsmen engaged for the parliament, viz. Sir William Balfour, and Sir John Meldrum, which was the more talked

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of, because of the ingratitude they thereby expressed to his majesty, whose creatures they were; and especially Sir William Balfour, whom his majesty, in the beginning of his reign, had preferred to be lieutenant of the tower of London, a place of so high a trust, and wherein the Londoners thought themselves so much concerned, that the first grudge they harboured against his majesty, was said to be because he had conferred it on a stranger.

In the beginning of September the Scots commissioners returned from London, except Patrick Bell, who died there of the pestilence.

And upon September twenty-first the commission of the late general assembly met at Edinburgh, to receive an account of the lord Maitland's negociation, who in a long discourse told them what great things he had done, and then delivered to them the parliament of England's answer to the general assembly's message, shewing their resolution to abolish Episcopacy root and branch, and to call an assembly of divines for modelling a new government, whereunto they wished our church to send commissioners.

The next thing that came to be talked of through the land, was of a battle fought between the king and parliament at Edgehill, upon October twenty-third, wherein much blood was shed on both sides.

This gave occasion to the commission of the general assembly to meet again at Edinburgh,

burgh, November fifteenth, to consider what was incumbent upon them in that case. And while they were about it, an emergent occurred, which was not pleasing to them.

Mr. John Oswald, the minister of Aberdeen, came as commissioner from the synod thereof, to crave their advice anent the increase of Brownism in the north, and especially concerning one Gilbert Gardine of Tilfroskie, who maintained and spread the absurdest tenets thereof, which he produced to the commission in writing. As also Mr. Patrick Sharp came commissioner from the presbytery of Hamilton upon the same errand, and made special mention of one Alexander Taes, a great seducer in Clydesdale. The commission's advice was, that those things and persons should be tenderly handled, for eschewing offence to the good people of England that favoured those ways.

This being so determined, the commission resolved to delay their resolution in public matters until their next session, and so rose for that time.

After this came the news that both king and parliament were increasing their forces, and that besides the army his majesty had already on foot, Sir Ralph Hopton was levying another in Cornwall and Wales, and the earl of Newcastle a third in the northern shires.

On the other part, Sir Thomas Fairfax was levying for the parliament also in the north, and the earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell were to levy another; which, with

that they had already under Essex's command, would amount to three armies also.

Yet, in token that they were afraid of the king's strength, the parliament did send in the mean time Mr. Pickering to Scotland, to treat for assistance; and shortly after his arrival, they sent a declaration, setting forth the danger of religion, and thereupon inviting their dear brethren here to engage with them for their aid.

Upon the hearing whereof, his majesty sent down the earl of Lanerk, with a letter to the secret council, in opposition to the declaration of the parliament: And, by plurality of voices, it was concluded, that the king's letter should be printed and published, that thereby it might come to the knowledge of the lieges: Which being done, the marquis of Argyle, and his adherents, who had dissented from the conclusion, and the ministers also, became so offended, that they sent presently advertisement to Fife and the western parts, to make haste to Edinburgh, to remedy the same.

1643.

WHEN being come to Edinburgh, they assembled in the Taylors-hall; and to afford them the better opportunity of seeking redress, the conservators of peace sate down also, as likewise did the commission of the general

neral assembly. Whereupon the Fife men, and the rest, did first supplicate the commission of the general assembly to join with them, and that being granted, both of them supplicated the conservators of peace to deal with the council to explain their meaning, in causing the king's letter to be printed, that it might not import their approving it; as also to cause the parliament of England's declaration to be printed, both which the council yielded to.

While this was a-doing, a cross-petition was framed by the royalists, who, upon the noise of the business, assembled also, and presented to the council, by the earls of Kelly, Home, and Dumfries; lords Erskine, Montgomery, Ker, Fleming, Livingston, Drummond, Linton, Salton, Napier, Kirkcudbright, Bargenny; but this was rejected by the council with much indignation. As also the commission of the church emitted a declaration against it, which was printed, and copies thereof sent to all the presbyteries throughout the kingdom, with a strict order, under pain of censure, to the several ministers to read the same in their pulpits, and to comment upon it to the people.

The Conservators of peace, and commission of the general assembly, having thus engaged, went on more avowedly than before; so that in the next place, they resolved to supplicate the king for a parliament and general assembly; and nominated commissioners to go to his majesty for those ends, the chancel-

lor, Sir Archibald Johnston, Mr. Robert Barclay, burghers of Irvine, and Mr. Alexander Henderson; all which went, except Sir Archibald Johnston, to whom his majesty denied a protection, and at their going away, by order from the commission of the church, a fast was kept throughout the kingdom, upon the last Sabbath of February, and the Thursday after, for their good success.

The earl of Kelly, and Henry lord Ker, dying about that time, the rigid faction insulted thereupon; and spared not to say, "That their death was in way of judgment, " for abetting the cross-petition;" altho' it be certain that those noblemen died very christianly, and were far from reckoning that among their sins.

In the end of February, the queen returning from Holland, landed at Burlington bay, upon the notice whereof the earl of Montrose posted away to her majesty, and convoyed her to York; which, shortly, the king's enemies hearing of, conceived that he would give her majesty a severe information against them; for countermining whereof, the marquis of Argyle went privately to the marquis of Hamilton (for their profession at that time was to be discorded) and thereupon the marquis of Hamilton rode up to the queen at York; but, before his arrival there, Montrose had suggested to her majesty, "That " altho' the king's enemies in Scotland did " not as yet profess so much, yet they certainly intended to carry an army into Eng-
" land,

“ land, and to join with the king’s enemies
 “ there; and, for remedy, offered, that, if
 “ the king would grant a commission, him-
 “ self, and many more, would take the field,
 “ and prevent it, which he intreated her
 “ majesty to impart to the king at their meet-
 “ ing.”

The marquis of Hamilton, at his arrival, getting notice from her majesty of Montrose’s information, offered to refute all, undertaking (that without raising arms for the king) he should make that party to ly quiet, and not lift an army for England; whereof he desired her majesty, in his name, to give the king full assurance.

The queen trusting most to the marquis of Hamilton, dismissed Montrose unsatisfied, and exhorted the marquis to perform his promise, telling him, “ That, for an earnest
 “ penny of the great rewards he might af-
 “ terwards expect, he should presently be
 “ preferred to the title of a duke;” and so her majesty went forward to the king, then at Oxford, and my lord Hamilton returned home.

And having acquainted Argyle, and his adherents, how Montrose’s motions were crushed, whereby they were free from the fears of opposition, they began to discover their intentions more publicly than before; so, as it came to be openly talked amongst them, that it was necessary they should levy an army, and carry it into England, but not side

against the king, only mediate betwixt him and his parliament.

Montrose, and other royalists, considering that as soon as the noise hereof should come to his majesty's ears, how he would then relish his overture which the queen rejected, did frequently meet, but not in great numbers, lest their adversaries (who ruled the judicatures) should have taken notice thereof, and proceeded against them.

Those who used oftneft to meet with Montrose, were, besides Sir Robert Spotswood, formerly president, the earl of Callender, lords Erskine, Ogilby, Napier, and sometimes Montgomery, who then professed to be turned that way.

These advertised his majesty, that there were both hearts and hands enough in Scotland to act for him, and wanted nothing but a commission, which, if his majesty would grant, his adversaries here might be kept under; but if he were wanting to himself, until they had an army on foot, it would then be past time to attempt against them. But my lord Hamilton's power at court was so prevailing, that the king was made still to rely upon his promise at York, and rejected utterly the offer which Montrose had made.

Argyle and the rest of that faction being advertised how Montrose, and his adherents, had addressed his majesty, thought it to good purpose to assay, now when Montrose had met with a disobligement, if he could be gained to their side, taking it for granted,
that

that if he was brought over, the rest would scatter, and so they would be free of their trouble; for which end Sir James Rollok, and Sir Mungo Campbell, were, by the marquis of Argyle, and the rest, commissioned to go to Montrose, and to make offer, that if he would leave off his counter-working, and comply with them, all his debts should be discharged, and himself preferred to the highest place of command next to general Lesley.

Montrose, to gain time, having still an expectation that the king would make such discoveries in time, as would incline him to the course he aimed at, gave them a dilatory answer; so that after a fortnight they returned to him, when, to obtain a farther delay, he professed some scruples of conscience; for satisfying whereof, he wished to confer with Mr. Henderson at his return from Oxford, which they construed to be a good answer, and promised that so soon as Mr. Henderson arrived he should be sent to him, to solve his doubts, and so they parted.

In the beginning of May the commissioners returned from Oxford, and against the ninth day thereof, the lords of council, the conservators of peace, and the commissioners of the general assembly, did all convene to receive an account of his majesty's answer to their demands. And the same not being satisfactory, especially his majesty's refusing to grant a parliament at that nick of time, they fell to debate, whether they might call

a parliament without his warrant, or not; and, for resolution, had recourse to Sir Thomas Hope, his majesty's advocate, but privately their oracle, tho' the king could not be persuaded to think so, who being consulted, told them, that by the laws of the land they could not call a parliament without the king; but withal insinuated how they might do another thing, which would be as effectual to their purpose; that is to say, call a convocation of the estates, and gave them a precedent thereof, which happened in the time of king James V.

Those who had insight into the Scots history, knew well enough that this instance was no ways applicable to the case now under debate; yet they rested upon the resolution, and according thereto, published, by sound of trumpet at the mercat-cross of Edinburgh, a convention of the estates to sit there upon June twenty-second, requiring the shires and burghs to make timely elections of commissioners thereto. Likewise the commission of the general assembly appointed a solemn fast to be kept throughout the kingdom upon Sunday the eleventh of June, and on the Wednesday following, for the good success thereof.

When the diet of the convention drew near, they dispatched Mr. Henderson to wait upon the earl of Montrose for solving of his doubts, who being advertised by Sir James Rollok of Mr. Henderson's coming the length of Stirling for that end, did meet him at Stirling bridge; they conferred together by the water-side the
space

space of two hours, and parted fairly without any accommodation.

Montrose having retired to his own house of Kincardine, began, after some days, to consider, that Mr. Henderson having made report to those that sent him, how there was no appearance of his turning to their way, it might be feared, that so soon as the convention of estates were met, and fell to consider of his business, a resolution might be taken to apprehend him. For preventing whereof, he, and with him his intimate friend the lord Ogilby, withdrew themselves privately, and went to the king then at Oxford, where they found his majesty still so confident, upon the assurance which the marquis of Hamilton sent him from York by the queen, that nothing which they could suggest to the contrary, prevailed upon him to attempt any thing for prevention.

The convention of the estates sate down June twenty-second; so did the commission for the general assembly; for without the ministers, that ruled it, nothing could be done.

The first thing that occurred to be debated in the convention, concerned the earls of Roxburgh, Morton, Annandale, Kinnoul, Carnwath, and Lanerk, who had lately come from court, and were accused about a letter written by them from Derby, to the queen, informing her majesty of the intelligence they had gotten in their way, concerning the design of the Scots to arm against the king. Many thought at first, that the knowledge
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of this letter, had been communicated to our great ones by some of their secret friends at court, whereof they were thought to have store, even in the bedchamber; but ere long it came to be publicly talked, that it was revealed by one of themselves.

However, great offence was taken at the strain of it, and they were all cited to appear before the convention. The earl of Carnwath, who had the least friendship among them, fled, but the rest obeyed the citation, and, after much debate at several diets, that business was in the end made up, and the convention went on to more public affairs, which were brought in after this manner.

The commission of the general assembly framed a remonstrance to the convention, setting forth the danger wherein religion was, by reason of the course his majesty was engaged in, and commissioned Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. David Dickson, and Mr. Andrew Cant to present the same.

The remonstrance being read in the convention, was approved, and thanks given to the commission of the assembly for the same.

And withal, the convention did earnestly desire that the commission would be pleased by another remonstrance to offer their best advice for remedies; which was gone about, and, after some days, presented to the convention.

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The substance whereof was, that they should look upon the cause of their brethren in England as their own, and bestir themselves resolutely and actively for defending and prospering God's cause in their hands. The convention, being thus animated and set on by the church, did soon come to a resolution thereupon, which long before the plotters had in their thoughts, concerning the taking arms.

Yet, knowing that the generality of people throughout the land, favoured the king, and were of opinion, that seeing his majesty at his being here, had given full satisfaction in all things concerning religion and liberty, which themselves had acknowledged, and was still so far from attempting any thing contrary thereto, that in all his letters and declarations, he promised both by word and oath, never to alter or reverse any of his gracious condescensions; it was very hard (upon a pretext of jealousy that if he prevailed against his enemies in England, he would overturn all here) to engage against him.

Therefore the convention chose to proceed slowly, and by degrees, and the most which at first they resolved on was, that because of a rumour, which their ministers and others of the inferior sort devised, concerning some moss-troopers in the south borders, who were said to disturb the peace; therefore three troops of horse should be presently levied, under the command of Sir John Brown, to curb them.

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Their policy in that levy was easily seen by the royalists; for Sir John Brown finding nothing to do in the south, there being no moss-troopers there, led his troops to and fro through the country, to terrify disaffected people from whispering against the public, which they had not spared to do, so long as there were none in arms.

After this came one Mr. Corbet to the convention, being sent by the parliament of England, who, besides other messages communicated only to the ringleaders, delivered to the convention, and also to the commission of the general assembly, a commission issued forth by the parliament of England, for an assembly of divines to sit at Westminster the first of July instant, in order to the reformation of the English church. This was much talked of by them, as a sufficient ground for their effectual concurrence, and afterwards more of that sort occurred.

Upon August the second, the general assembly sat down at Edinburgh, Sir Thomas Hope, his majesty's advocate, being commissioner; and indeed it did exceedingly discourage such as intended to have appeared for his majesty's interest, when they found him so honoured and trusted, concerning whose carriage the king had been so often informed.

Mr. Alexander Henderson was elected moderator, to whom the king, in the year 1641, had expressed great respects; whereupon, for some time afterwards, he inclined that we should have rested with our own reformation,

tion, which the king had confirmed, and not to have meddled with the English; but, by this time, they had prevailed with him to go their way; whereby indeed they gained one great point: For he was so looked upon, and revered by the generality of the ministry throughout the land, that they could scarce have had them on their side without him.

In the beginning of the assembly it came to be publicly known, that the king had taken the city of Bristol, and was so prevailing, that had he afterwards marched forward to London, his adversaries would have met him with ropes about their necks, and submitted upon mercy; but, instead thereof, he was led, by treacherous council, to lay siege to Gloucester, whereby the parliament had leisure to employ themselves many ways, for increasing their strength, which then was very small; Essex, with the remainder of his army, reckoned not to exceed five thousand, lying at Kingston upon Thames, and unable to attempt any thing, and Fairfax and Manchester having yet attained to no considerable numbers.

Among other means which the parliament used, four commissioners came from it to the general assembly, viz. Sir William Armin, Sir Henry Vane, junior, Mr. Hatcher, and Mr. Darley, and with them two ministers, Mr. Marshal, who professed to be a Presbyterian, and Mr. Nye, an independent, lately come over from New England.

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They presented to the assembly a letter from the divines assembled at Westminster, together with a declaration from the parliament of England, both to one sense, viz. that they purposed to extirpate Episcopacy root and branch, and to introduce that which they should find most agreeable to the word of God.

These being read, the moderator had a long discourse upon them, and then asked the judgment of several brethren, what was to be done in order to a return? Their answer was, that himself and his assessors should take the business into consideration. And happening to ask the judgment of Mr. Henry Guthry, minister of Stirling, he rising up, spoke to this effect, “ That he observed the
 “ assembly of divines, in their letter, and
 “ the parliament, in their declaration, were
 “ both clear and particular concerning the
 “ privative part, viz. that they would extir-
 “ pate Episcopacy root and branch; but, as
 “ to the positive part, what they meant to
 “ bring in, they huddled it up in many am-
 “ biguous general terms: So that whether
 “ it would be Presbytery, or Independency,
 “ or any thing else, God only knew; and
 “ no man could pronounce infallibly con-
 “ cerning it: Therefore, that so long as
 “ they stood there, and would come no far-
 “ ther, he saw not how this church, which
 “ holdeth Presbyterian government to be *ju-
 “ ris divini*, could take them by the hand.”
 Whereupon he wished, “ That before there
 “ were

“ were any farther proceeding, the assembly
 “ would be pleased to deal with the English
 “ commissioners present, to desire the par-
 “ liament and divines assembled at Westmin-
 “ ster to explain themselves, and be as ex-
 “ press concerning that which they resolved
 “ to introduce, as they had been in that
 “ which was to be removed.”

The moderator paused a long time upon Mr. Guthry's discourse, and at last made no direct reply to it. And that which was strange was, that altho' very many in the house did in their conscience approve it (as themselves afterwards acknowledged in private) yet none of them did second it. Whereby it came to pass, that the moderator and his assessors had the business committed to them, and Mr. Guthry's reward for what he had spoken, was, that all the zealots cried him down as a rotten malignant, and an enemy to the cause, conceiving that his pleading for Presbyterian government, flowed not from any love to it, but to baffle the work.

Always, the moderator, and his assessors, which (besides the leading ministers, such as Mr. Dickson, Blair, Cant, Rutherford, &c.) were the marquis of Argyle, the earls of Cassils, Glencairn, Eglinton, Lindsay, and Loudoun, the chancellor; lords Balmerino, Burleigh, Arbuthnot, and others, under the name of ruling elders, who having treated at length with the English commissioners, resolved in the end upon a league and covenant to be sworn and subscribed throughout both nations.

And

And the same being framed, was by them brought into the assembly upon the seventeenth day of August, and twice read over; when Mr. Matthew Brisbane, minister of Eskine, a reverend worthy man, desiring only, that before men were urged to vote about it, leisure might be given them for some few days to have their scruples removed; and for that he was as much spoken against, as Mr. Guthry had been the other day.

And, without any delay, the question was presently stated, Approve? Or not? And the roll being called thereupon, it was, by plurality of voices, approved.

It was not the custom in assemblies, for any man, while the roll was a calling, to interrupt voicing by discourses; every one was to answer to the question, Yea, or Nay, and no more. Yet, the lord Maitland was so taken with a thought of his own, that he must needs vent it: So that when his voice came to be asked, he rose up and spoke to this sense, “How upon the seventeenth of August, four years ago, an act passed in that assembly for thrusting Episcopacy out of this church, and now upon this seventeenth of August also an act was passing for the extirpation of it out of the church of England, and that providence having ordered it so, that both happened to be on one day, he thought there was much in it, and that men might warrantably thereupon expect glorious consequences to follow, even farther off than England, ere all was done.”

This

BISHOP GUTHRY. 139

This observation was applauded by the most, as having much quickness in it, though others thought it very ridiculous.

The next thing done in the assembly was, the election of commissioners to repair to London, to join with the assembly of divines, for promoting the work; and the men pitched upon were, Mr. Alexander Henderson, Mr. Robert Bailey, Mr. Samuel Rutherford, and Mr. George Gillespie; and, as ruling elders, with them the earl of Cassils, lord Maitland, and Mr. Archibald Johnston.

Afterwards the assembly sent Mr. Douglas, Dickson, Cant, Blair, and others, to the convention of the estates, to present to them the league and covenant, and to crave their ratification thereof, which the convention granted with much joy; and so the commission of the church being renewed, by the assembly, for that year, and orders given for the frequent meeting thereof, whereby the better correspondence might be maintained with those that were commissioned to go for London, the assembly rose with triumph August nineteenth.

Upon the twenty-fourth of August the convention, having now ratified the league and covenant, did, in pursuance of the ends thereof, publish at the mercat-cross of Edinburgh a proclamation, commanding all betwixt sixty and sixteen to be in readiness upon twenty-four hours warning, to march when and where they should be appointed.

And

And upon the morrow the twenty-fifth the convention (having appointed a grand committee to sit constantly, with ample power in all things that should occur) adjourned, being to assemble again when the committee should give the call.

Upon the thirtieth of August the lord Maitland, Mr. Alexander Henderson, and Mr. George Gillespie, and with them Mr. Hatcher, and Mr. Nye the preacher, began their journey to London, in order to get the league and covenant approved and subscribed there, the rest of the English commissioners being to stay here until the covenant should be returned.

Upon the arrival of these commissioners at London, there was much joy, and the league and covenant, which they carried up, was, without delay, allowed and approved, both by the parliament and the assembly of divines, and afterwards returned hither.

Whereupon the commission of the general assembly dispatched presently to London, Mr. Robert Bailey, and Mr. Samuel Rutherford, to shew with what solemnity the return of the league and covenant was welcomed, and to join with the other commissioners formerly gone up for promoting the work.

Afterwards the commission of the general assembly ordained, that, without delay, it should be sworn and subscribed throughout this whole kingdom; and, for that effect, they sent very peremptory letters to all presbyteries within the same.

And,

And, because they doubted most the presbytery of Stirling, in regard of the known disaffection of the ministers thereof, Sir John Brown had orders given him to quarter his three troops in Stirling, until the same was done.

Upon the thirteenth of October the league and covenant was solemnly sworn and subscribed in the High-church of Edinburgh, by the commission of the church and the committee of estates, together with the English commissioners, viz. Sir William Armin, Sir Henry Vane, and Mr. Marshall, who had staid here until this time.

After this the earls and lords of council, were, by the committee of estates, warned, under strict certifications, to appear in Edinburgh upon Thursday the second of November, there to swear and subscribe, which many did, to eschew suffering, but not cordially.

Only Hamilton, Lanerk, Roxbrugh, Morton, and Kinnoul refused; whereupon orders were given out, that their rents should be meddled with, yet nothing followed thereupon; for Morton and Kinnoul's estates were so distressed at that time, that they were not worth preying on, and for the other three, they had friends in the committee.

In the mean time news came of hot work in England, in that so soon as the league and covenant had been approved by the parliament and assembly of divines, the people took such heart thereupon, that they quickly con-

concurred to the recruiting Essex's army; and it being stronger than at first, he marched away to raise the siege of Gloucester, whereof the king having intelligence, his majesty left the siege, and went towards him, so that they encountered near Newbury, where was a bloody battle, with great loss on both sides, upon October twenty-third.

The committee of estates being certified hereof, proceeded more quickly towards a levy, and it furthered the business much, that upon November twenty-third, there arrived at Leith one of the parliament's ships, wherein was 50,000 l. Sterling, sent by the parliament to our committee of estates, for promoting the work.

Old Lesley, now earl of Leven, was, without controversy, elected general, as before.

The earl of Callender had an offer of the lieutenant-general's place, which he had formerly executed, but he declined it; neither were they very earnest about it, doubting very much his affection, and withal having David Lesley to prefer.

The lord Erskine obstinately refused to take command, which made them afterwards do him all the harm they could; so that the regiment of Stirlingshire, which had been pressed upon him, was embraced by another, who had as much reason as any to have stood for the king; this was the lord Livingstone; and, so soon as the noise went that he had engaged, many prophesied, that Callender would
also

also tack about ere long, in regard that Livingstone then having most of his substance from him, it was presumed he would not have complied without his allowance. The lord Montgomery also embraced a regiment, so did divers others, who formerly had professed disaffection to the cause.

The commission of the general assembly, to shew their zeal to the cause, would needs have a regiment of black-coats set forth; and therefore ordained every minister throughout the kingdom, as he would be answerable, to afford a soldier for making up a regiment, to be under the command of Arthur Erskine of Scotsraig, which many of them obeyed willingly, others by constraint.

As also the commission appointed a national fast, to be observed upon Sunday January the seventh, and the Wednesday following, for a blessing upon the army.

The regiments, by the middle of December, began to march southward, and in their way received orders from the general, to make their rendezvous before the first of January, at Hairlaw, within four miles of Berwick.

Whereof the king having gotten certain information, the earl of Montrose, and the lord Ogilby (and their adherents, Lodovick earl of Crawford, the earl of Nithsdale, the lords Aboyne, and Rea) began to be better looked upon at court than before, and his majesty could not forbear exclaiming against the lord Hamilton, who, by his undertaking to hinder

der a levy, had made him so secure, that nothing had been attempted for prevention of it.

In the mean time duke Hamilton (for his patent had passed the seals two months before) and his brother the earl of Lanerk, presuming they had enough to say for their own excuse, went from Scotland towards the king; but, being arrived at Oxford, before they had seen his face, were, by his order, made prisoners; the duke was sent to Pendennis castle, and Lanerk confined in his chamber, from whence, shortly after, by means of James Cunningham, one of his majesty's actual servants, he made his escape, and went straight to the Scots commissioners at London, to whom he was very welcome.

1644.

BY the first of January, the army was convened at Hairlaw; and to attend the general, and be assisting in council, there came thither also a committee, whereof the marquis of Argyle was the principal.

But, at home, there fell out upon January the fifth, a tumult in Edinburgh, whereby the grand committee received some affront; it was occasioned by a motion of my lord Balmerino, whose genius led him to be very happy in plotting, for an excise to be imposed upon several goods, to be a
stock

stock of credit, for the better maintenance of the army; so soon as the noise of it spread abroad, the whole citizens, except some few that were most bigotted, rose in a mutinous way, compassed the house where the committee sat, exclaimed against that act of tyranny, and threaten'd, that unless it were repealed, they would tear Balmerino in pieces. To compose the tumult, the committee discharged it for that time, until the whole convention of estates should meet to consider of it, which was appointed to be upon January twenty-fifth; and this being intimated to the people they disbanded.

Mr. Dickson, Douglas, Blair, and other commissioners of the general assembly, who had a prime influence upon public affairs, were highly displeased at the affront the committee had received, as also that the motion, to the contriving whereof, they had been concurring with Balmerino, had prospered no better; and for remedy, concluded that the commission of the assembly should sit down January seventeenth, to prepare the people against the diet of the convention, to give way to the excise. Wherein the church-men were so successful, that notwithstanding the fury which had been expressed upon the first hearing of it, yet when the convention of estates assembled at the day appointed, not so much as one man in all the city was heard to speak against it; and so by the authority of the convention, the excise was concluded,

and proclamation thereanent presently published at the mercat-cross. Wherefore the cause triumphed, and met with no opposition any where throughout the land, for having two armies (whereof the one in Ireland and the other in England) they became so formidable, that all men behoved to submit.

The burghs were all cordially for them, none excepted, yea, they were more furious than any other corporations.

There were of the shires fixed their way, the shire of Fife (which had always been forward in any thing that was called reformation) and the whole western shires, viz. Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, Cuningham, Renfrew and Clydesdale; among all which, there was not one man talked of being disaffected to them, except Sir David Cuningham of Robertland, Sir Robert Douglas of Bridgend, and Mr. Archibald Fleming of Peel, commissary of Glasgow.

In the southern shires (Nithsdale and Johnston, with some others of their friends, being excepted) the whole clans were for them, and those of the name of Scot beyond the rest.

The shires in the heart of the kingdom, (viz. the Lothians, Angus, Mearns, Perth, and Stirling shires) were not so generally affected their way; yet they had in each of them some, in whom they might confide, who carried through their affairs in their meetings.

In

In the north, their confidence was in the earl of Sutherland, with the Forbeses and Craizers; otherwise the generality of the people did not favour them, except some particular persons, such as the lairds of Innes and Brodie, and Dr. Douglas in Bamff, and such others as this Douglas, who affected to be zealots that way, that they might get the employments, whereby they might benefit themselves.

The greatest disaffection to the cause was northwards, beyond the Grampian hills among the highlanders. For altho' those in the western highlands, subject to Argyle and Glenorchy were for them, yet the eastern parts were not so. The countries of Athol, Mar, Badenoch, Lochaber, Kintaile, Pettystrath-don, Strath-spey, &c. with most of the shires, were malignants, being conformable to their superiors, the marquis of Huntley, the earls of Mar, Athol, Murray, Seaforth, and the lairds of Grant, Mackintosh, and Lochaber.

Many of the ancient nobility abhorred their course, yet that was no discouragement to the others, in regard they had not such followers as to render them capable to affront it: Which fell out, partly thro' the giddiness of the times; but more by the way his majesty had taken at the beginning of his reign; at which time he did recover from the hands of them their hereditary offices, and so pressed them to quit their tithes (which formerly had kept the gentry in a depen-

dence upon them) whereby they were weakened, that now when he stood most in need of them (except the chief of the clans) they could command none but their vassals.

There were also among the ministry, who disliked their way, yet for fear of suffering complied therewith. For now this new-modelled commission of the general assembly (notwithstanding the fair professions made two years ago, when it was first established at St. Andrews) assumed a legislative power and enjoined obedience to their acts, *scilicet* *pæná*: Yea, they became so tyrannical, that it may be admired how so much violence and cruelty (as already began to appear amongst them) could lodge in the breasts of church-men, who pretended to such piety as did Mr. Douglas, Dickson, Blair, Cameron and some others, who over-ruled the commission at their pleasure; there being nothing but the worst they could do, to be expected by any that should happen in the least to oppose them. This prevailed upon men to submit for eschewing persecution.

So all went well with the cause; and the marquis of Argyle returning from the army reported to the committee of estates and commission of the assembly, how after they had lain some days before Newcastle (which they held out, the earl of Newcastle with a considerable army being in it) they had, before his coming away, crossed the river at Newburn, having left Sir James Lumsden with

five regiments to attend on this side thereof, and marched without opposition to Sunderland: He also reported, how that Shortly after the earl of Newcastle, having left a party in the town for defending the same, had drawn forth his army, and come up to the Scots army; and that thereupon there had ensued a hot fight, wherein the earl of Newcastle was so far worsted, that since, he had withdrawn, and gone with the remainder of his army southward to York.

These discourses of Argyle's furnished matter of rejoicing at Edinburgh, and the report went current, that there was no less joy in the army at his coming away, in regard that as that nobleman was generally constructed not to be very stout, so the soldiery had an apprehension, that his company was unfortunate in war, and that they would prosper the better to be rid of him.

This being but a fancy, would seem to have merited no great observation, yet the commission of the general assembly laid such weight on it, as to esteem it a presumption that the army was in danger to turn malignant; for preventing whereof, it was resolved, that Mr. Robert Douglas should go up, and set all right; who, having deputed Mr. William Bennet to moderate in the commission in his absence, took his journey the week following.

In the mean time, the Scots army in Ireland being in great want of subsistence, and having no supply sent them, on their former

advertisement, they resolved to come over. And two regiments arrived, before the committee of estates knew any thing of it, viz. the Lord Sinclair's regiment, which marched to Stirling and quartered there, and the earl of Lothian's regiment, which settled at Glasgow.

Hereupon the committee dispatched the earl of Glencairn, Sir William Campbell of Lawers, and Sir Frederick Hamilton to deal with the rest not to stir. But before their arrival in Ireland, Lawer's own regiment was come over, and quartered themselves in Clydesdale upon the earl of Carnwath's lands. With the rest they prevailed to stay in Ireland, upon assurance that before the 10th of April instant, a considerable supply should be sent them; which was accordingly performed.

Thus all things were quieted at home, and the lords of the committee, and the commissioners of the general assembly, were very jovial at Edinburgh.

But their mirth was soon marred, by an advertisement they had from the north, that the marquis of Huntley (having the king's commission for that effect) had taken the field, with a considerable body of men.

Whereupon, the convention of the estates was called to meet upon April the tenth, and also the commission of the general assembly without whom nothing could be resolved upon.

And those judicatures being sate, the first thing that occurred, was the receiving of the earl of Lanerk, who, being lately come down from the commissioners at London, appeared, and gave such evidences of his deep sorrow for adhering to the king so long, with such malicious reflections upon his sacred majesty, that I forbear to express them, altho' I was an ear-witness of them, as made his conversion to be unfeigned, and so was received to the covenant, and acted afterwards so vigorously in the cause, that ere long he was preferred to be a ruling elder.

The next thing these judicatures went about, was how Huntley's insurrection should be crushed; for which end a commission was given to the marquis of Argyle, and he presently to raise three regiments; one in Fife, to be commanded by the lord Elcho, another in Angus, to be commanded by the earl of Kinghorn, and the third in Perth-shire, to be commanded by the laird of Freeland.

And (that the spiritual sword might be concurring) the summary excommunication of the ringleaders in that rising was decreed, viz. of the marquis of Huntley, the laird of Drum the younger, and Robert Irvine his brother, the laird of Haddo, and Thomas Hay his servant; the laird of Skeen, the laird of Tippetty, and Mr. James Kennedy, Huntley's secretary; and the sentence was pronounced by Mr. John Adamson.

By this time the marquis of Argyle had gotten up his three regiments, and therewith

marched northwards: Upon the knowledge whereof, the marquis of Huntley very poorly disbands, and leaves his friends to their shifts, himself retiring to Strathnaver a high-land country belonging to the lord Rea, to lurk there.

The laird of Haddo, who had been with him, and captain Logie, the son of a learned minister, that for his loyalty was already twice deposed, with some soldiers, did betake themselves to the castle of Haddo, and fortified it so, that it might well have endured Argyle's fury. But he coming before it, went more craftily to work, by offering fair quarters to the soldiers, and all others within the house, except to the laird himself and captain Logie: Upon which they embraced the conditions, and having first bound with fetters the laird and the captain, they did cast open the gates to Argyle, who being entered, presently sent those two gentlemen prisoners to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and shortly after, himself returned thither in triumph.

The jollity which this success in the north occasioned to the lords of the committee and commissioners of the church was not ended, before they were startled again with an alarm from the south, that the marquis of Montrose (for that title the king had lately conferred upon him) being accompanied with a considerable number of soldiers (which by the earl of Newcastle's favour he had levied in Westmorland) had taken in the town of
Dum-

Dumfries, and had there set up his majesty's standard.

This invasion was looked upon as a more formidable attempt than the other, in regard of the extraordinary abilities wherewith Montrose was endued, even his enemies being judges, and therefore the committee of estates concluded, that for opposing of him, an army should presently be levied, by calling forth the eighth man throughout the whole land: And having pitched upon the earl of Callender to be general thereof, he did (without ceremony) embrace the preferment, notwithstanding that before Montrose's withdrawing, he had confederated with him in the design which he was now carrying on.

The earl of Callender having engaged, went about his levies; but before he had made much progress, the marquis of Montrose was repulsed and forced to retreat to Carlisle; in regard that upon the appearance of a Scottish party led on by the sheriff of Teviotdale, those English that he brought with him, did all flee on the sudden. The cause whereof he judged to be this, that most of them being levied in Sir Richard Graham's bounds, had been corrupted by their master, who (owing his rise, from a very low degree to a puissant estate, to the king's bounty) paid him home, as many others had done that were advanced by him.

For Montrose's attempt, the commission of the general assembly decreed the summary excommunication of him, with the earls of

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Crawfurd and Nithsdale, and lords Ogilby, Aboyne, and Harreis that attended him. The sentence whereof was pronounced in the great church of Edinburgh upon April twenty-sixth, and very peremptory orders sent to all the ministers throughout the kingdom to make intimation of it.

Notwithstanding Montrose's repulse, the earl of Callender proceeded in his levy, and having upon the twenty-fifth of April, mustered at Douglas 5000 men, from thence he marched forward with them to Dumfries, where they halted until Sinclair's regiment (which then quartered in Stirling) should come to them. That regiment was esteemed somewhat malignant, yet having received strict orders from the committee of estates for that effect, it removed from Stirling May sixth, and came up to the earl of Callender then at Dumfries; and in place whereof, was sent to command in Stirling from their west-quarters a regiment belonging to the earl of Callender. For that town was the more adverted to, both in regard that it is the most considerable pass in the kingdom, and also because of the disaffection both of ministers and people thereabouts, especially the house of Mar, who are hereditary governors of the castle of Stirling.

Upon May twenty-ninth, the general assembly sate down at Edinburgh without any commissioner from his majesty. In it the proceedings of the late commission were approved, and thanks given them for their fidelity

lity and diligence : And then the commission was renewed for the year to come ; and so the assembly rose upon June fourth, having remitted all affairs to the new commission.

The marquis of Montrose since his retreat from Dumfries had not been idle, for by this time he had gotten up in the north parts of England a considerable number of men, and had therewith routed the garrison of Morpeth, and put provisions into the town of Newcastle.

Upon notice whereof, the committee of estates ordered the earl of Callender to march into England, and take order with Montrose.

The first part he obeyed, but not the second. For presently he left Dumfries, and advanced through Northumberland, but instead of meddling with Montrose (who was then in a good posture) he directed his course to the town of Newcastle, and laid siege to it, a task wherewith he was well acquainted, having been bred mostly in the Holland war. For before this time general Lesley had left it, and drawn his army southward, to join with Manchester and Fairfax, in besieging the city of York, in which was the earl of Newcastle and his army. And this was the period of time, at which the king's business began to decline, whereof a main reason was said to be this.

In January last, the king had emitted a declaration, summoning his parliament of England to leave Westminster, and to sit at Oxford, with a promise of pardon to all that
came

came thither. Whereupon many of the house of peers, and some of the commons also, assembled at Oxford, and there made fair professions of their loyalty; among which one was, that they sent a letter (signed by fifty four hands which I saw at it) to the council of Scotland, and to the conservators of peace; setting forth their dislike of the Scots invasion, and wishing a fair and just course to be taken for preventing blood-shed in both nations, which otherwise might ensue: The carriers of the letter, having general Lesley's pass, were permitted to come in and deliver the letter; and had also the liberty of a safe return.

Yet it was publicly talked here, that those who came to Oxford upon his majesty's summons, meant not to be very faithful to him, but rather (by that stratagem) to do those whom they had deserted at Westminster better service, than they could have done being with them, by advising his majesty to courses which tended to his ruin.

Whether there was a reason or not for this construction, I leave undetermined: But certain it was, that as the leaving of Westminster and coming thither, procured them such trust, that his majesty was led by their counsels; so his affairs did thereafter more and more miscarry; and his most secret projects came to be understood by his enemies: Whereof the most loyal and gallant general Ruthven did often warn his majesty, but could not get it remedied.

The

BISHOP GUTHRY. 157

The Scots parliament sate down at Edinburgh upon June fourth, there being no commissioner there from the king. The earl of Lauderdale was elected president thereof; Mr. Andrew Cant, by the commission of the general assembly, was appointed to preach at the opening of the parliament, wherein he satisfied their expectation fully. For the main point he drove at in his sermon, was to state an opposition betwixt king Charles and king Jesus (as he was pleased to speak) and upon that account, to press resistance to king Charles for the interest of king Jesus.

It may be wondered that such doctrine should have relished with men brought up in the knowledge of the scriptures; and yet, such was the madness of the times, that none who preached in public since the beginning of the troubles, had been so cried up, as he was for that sermon.

The city of York being then straitly blocked up by Lesley's, Manchester's, and Fairfax's armies, the king sent prince Rupert with his army for the relief thereof. Upon the knowledge of his approach, they left the siege, and returned with their armies some miles off, towards Marston-Moor; so that without any difficulty, he put provisions into the city. And had his highness rested satisfied therewith, and gone home, all had been well. Or yet, if he had lingered till the marquis of Montrose's arrival, (who hastened towards him with the men he had drawn together

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gether in the north of England) he had been much the stronger.

But before Montrose could reach him, he went towards them, and engaged in battle. At first the success favoured the prince so far, that Lesley, Manchester, and Fairfax did all flee many miles (and which is more, Mr. Robert Douglas himself) only Oliver Cromwell with the party he commanded, and David Lesley with the Scots horse, stood to it, and fought so eagerly, as changed somewhat the fortune of the day, and made the defeat to be reckoned on prince Rupert's side; which was the less, in that it being within two hours of sun-setting before they engaged, night prevented an absolute victory. This was upon July second.

Of the Scots, there died, besides inferiors, but one nobleman, the viscount of Dudop, who, being sore wounded in the fight, expired shortly after, and his fall was the more remarkable, in regard, that being in his heart a true royalist, yet, he not only embraced, but (by his uttermost interest) procured to himself the command of a regiment, that so he might avoid the sufferings, which all were made to endure at home that owned the king.

After the battle, the earl of Newcastle having escaped, the city of York surrendered to Fairfax upon ordinary conditions, and withal that no Scots should be permitted to enter. Whereupon general Lesley brought back his army to Newcastle, to join with
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the earl of Callender for the carrying that town.

Prince Rupert being upon his retreat from that unfortunate battle, the marquis of Montrose came up to him, and after conference with his highness, left with him his forces; and himself with some noblemen and gentlemen that attended him, came northward to Durham (which yet held for the king) uncertain what course to take; for to stay in England, they were in danger to be caught by the parliament's troopers, who since the battle of Marston-Moor spread every where (many who before lay by, having now declared for them.) And to come to Scotland would be worse, for that he heard nothing yet of the landing of the Irish in Scotland; notwithstanding that when he embraced his commission, the earl of Antrim had undertaken to his majesty, to land before that time 10,000 Irish in the north of Scotland, to be under Montrose's command: Besides, in case through misfortunes he should happen to come into his enemies hands, there was no hopes of mercy, in regard their violence was come to that height, that now they even began to cut off mens heads upon scaffolds for their loyalty.

For on the nineteenth of July, the laird of Haddo and captain Logie, were both beheaded at the mercat-cross of Edinburgh, for their being with Huntley in his insurrection; and shortly after John Maxwell of Logan, in the shire of Dumfries, had the same measure

sure given him in the same place, for being supposed to have befriended Montrose of late, while he was there.

And the earl of Crawford, general Ruthven, and general King, were, without any citation, forefaulted at the cross of Edinburgh; and the title and honour of the earl of Crawford bestowed upon the earl of Lindsey, and he also made treasurer of Scotland, instead of the four commissioners, which in the year 1641 the king and parliament appointed for that effect.

These emergents might well represent to him how dangerous it was to come home; yet, taking necessity for his counsellor, he did resolve it, and begun next to think upon the way. Forces he had none, therefore could not come openly, and even in disguise wanted not hazard, in regard that all passes were guarded; yet he resolved upon the last.

So Lodovick, earl of Crawford, choosing to retire to the garrison of Newcastle; and the Lord Aboyne to stay at Carlisle, while he should hear from him, Montrose dispatched the lord Ogilby, in whom he confided much, and with him the remanent gentlemen that had attended him to the king, with instructions relating to the enterprize he was now to attempt, who were so unfortunate as to fall among some of the parliament's troopers as they passed through Lancashire, to whom after a hot fight they were forced to surrender upon quarter; and so were sent prisoners to Hull, from whence the gover-

nor thereof guarded them with a convoy to general Lesley at Newcastle.

The marquis of Montrose being now separated from them, himself and two only, whom he chose to attend him, viz. colonel Sibbald, and Sir William Rollok, taking on them the habits of troopers, ventured on the journey, and without discovery arrived at the house of Tullibaltan, near the foot of the Grampian hills, where dwelt his intimate friend Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie. There he lurked for some days, longing to hear of the Irish which Antrim had undertaken to send over; and the first thing that refreshed him was, the news that the Scots parliament, having appointed a committee to sit in the interim, had adjourned to the second of January next, in regard that the marquis of Argyle behoved to go home and look to his country, because of an advertisement he had received, that some Irish were landed there; and within three days after, the course which those Irish had taken came to be publicly known, viz. how they first touched upon the coast of the west highlands of Ardna-murchan; and having there taken in and fortified the castle of Mingrie, had committed to the garrison which they settled in it the custody of two prisoners, viz. Mr. James Hamilton, and Mr. John Weir, ministers, whom they had taken at sea, being on their return from Ireland, where they had been getting hands to their league and covenant. Thereafter they sailed eastward, and land-

landed at the isle of Slait, belonging to Sir Donald Gorram, and from thence marched to Badenoch. All this came to Montrose's knowledge, and the next day his joy was yet more encreased, by a letter sent from Alexander Macdonald their chief commander, directed to the marquis of Montrose, and recommended to the care of Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie for dispatch; Macdonald being ignorant that Montrose was in Scotland.

Montrose having received the letter, wrote back to Macdonald, who yet halted at Badenoch, that without delay he should march down to Athol, where he would meet him. And so the next day Montrose and his worthy cousin Inchbrakie, having attired themselves in the ordinary habit of highlanders, went towards Athol, and arriving there the next day, they met Macdonald with his people, to their mutual joy.

The number of the Irish, instead of ten thousand, promised by the earl of Antrim, amounted scarcely to twelve hundred; but so soon as Montrose produced his commission and began to command, the men of Athol and Badenoch, who had refused formerly to join with Macdonald, did cordially rise, and swelled Montrose's army to the number of 3000.

The news hereof was not grievous to the young laird of Drum, and Robert Irvine his brother, who after Huntley's disbanding, to escape suffering, had embarked for Holland, and by storm were driven upon Caithness,

ness, where they retired to the house of a gentleman surnamed Sinclair, in whom they had a near interest, expecting shelter from him until the wind should favour them; but there having been a price set upon their heads, his eagerness to have the money made him betray them into the hands of their enemies; whereupon a fortnight after they were carried prisoners to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, in which place they were now waiting for their doom.

The committee of estates being certified that the marquis of Montrose was at the head of the Irish, did presently cause an army to be drawn out of Fife and Perthshire, in order to encounter him, ordering the people of Fife to be commanded by the lord Elcho; and those of Perthshire by the earl of Tullibardine, then very famous in the cause.

These being levied had their rendezvous at Perth, whither the lord Kilpont had also brought from Monteith, and other western parts of Perthshire, four hundred men; but so soon as Montrose descended towards his adversaries, Kilpont delivered up his men to him.

And upon Friday the first of September a battle being fought at Tippermuir, Montrose obtained an absolute victory, notwithstanding the great odds of numbers; for the covenanters were reckoned six thousand foot, and six hundred horse, whereas Montrose's foot exceeded not thirteen hundred, besides Kilpont's men, in whom he did not confide, in that they
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had been brought in against their will ; and for horse he had only three, whereof two were for his own saddle, and the third for Sir William Rollok's, who being somewhat lame from his childhood, could not well march on foot.

By this victory, as Montrose's Irish came to be provided both of clothes and arms, whereof they had neither before, so the committee of estates were startled to that degree, that they resolved to send up the lord chancellor to London. For besides those whom the kirk had commissioned to reside there, for concurring with the divines at Westminster, the parliament had also nominated divers to attend the parliament of England, for carrying on the confederation between them; and those named by the parliament for that end were, the chancellor, Argyle, Maitland, Balmerino, Sir Charles Erskine, Sir Archibald Johnston, Hugh Kennedy, burghers of Air, and Mr. Robert Barclay, burghers of Irvine ; but it being necessary that the chancellor, Argyle, and Balmerino, should usually stay at home, to sit at the helm, they therefore went not up, unless upon solemn occasions, whereas the rest remained always at London, of which they had no reason to complain, in that besides the gratuities which they received there, they had allowed by Scotland for their maintenance in Scots money per diem, to every earl 48 l. to every lord 36 l. to every knight 30 l. to every burghers 24 l. and to every minister 18 l.

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But the particular occasion of the chancellor's going up at this time was said to be this, viz. That the king was thought to be brought so low, that the parliament of England began to believe themselves able to prosecute the work, without the assistance of the Scots, and that thereupon they begun to undervalue them, and to wish to be rid of them; so that the parliament of Scotland, having considered, that if the parliament of England should hear the worst of Montrose's late victory, it would foment that unbrotherly humour in them, they therefore held it necessary that the lord chancellor should go up to put a good face on things, and to deal for a continuance of a right understanding between the two parliaments.

After the victory of Tippermuir, the town of Perth did presently surrender to Montrose, wherein after having staid three days, he crossed the river Tay, and marched eastward to Angus, where the earl of Airly, and his two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David Ogilbys, with some of his friends, together with the earl of Kinnoul, and a few gentlemen of the Carse of Gowrie, and colonel Nathaniel Gordon from the north joined him.

The first place Montrose called at in his march was Collace, where he was robbed of his friend the lord Kilpont by a treacherous assassination, which James Stuart of Ardvorlich committed. This man, Kilpont had chosen for his intimate friend; and altho' his father the earl of Airth had often warned him

him to shake him off, yet would he not, but continued to be ruled by him in all his affairs, and even in his joining Montrose he had his allowance and direction. But afterwards this Stuart repented it, and began to think of falling off; and being witty, considered that he would not obtain pardon from the other party, unless he did some meritorious act whereby to ingratiate himself: Hereupon he proposed to himself, either the killing of Montrose or Macdonald; and because he could hardly accomplish such a work alone, therefore, having slept all night by my lord Kilpont, he did in the twilight of the morning draw him out of the midst of the army to refresh himself with a walk in the fields, and then told him his purpose, and, for both their good, intreated his concurrence therein. The lord Kilpont abhorred the motion, as being most disgraceful and devilish; whereupon, without more ado, lest he should discover him, he stabbed the nobleman ere he was aware, and immediately fled thereupon and went strait to the marquis of Argyll, who thought it a piece of so good service, that he not only countenanced him, and procured his pardon for having joined Montrose, but also preferred him to a high place of command in the army.

The marquis of Montrose was deeply affected with the loss of so noble a friend, and gave order for conveying his body in an honourable manner to Monteith, where it was interred.

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After this Montrose parted from Collace, and having frightened the town of Dundee, continued his march through Angus and Mearns, towards the shire of Aberdeen; having greatest expectation of peoples joining him in the northern parts.

In the mean time the committee of estates having put the commission upon the marquis of Argyle and the earl of Lothian, to go against him, Argyle with his highlanders came upon the fifth of September to Stirling, and next day the earl of Lothian also. There they levied very quickly the men of Stirlingshire, as also brought Lothian's regiment, which not long before had come over from Ireland, and with those they marched forward upon the tenth to St. Johnston, where the people of Fife met them, as also two regiments of horse from Newcastle, called home for that end, viz. the lord Bargenny's regiment and Sir Frederick Hamilton's. And thus being made as strong as they desired, they began their march from St. Johnston towards Aberdeenshire upon the fourteenth day. When the first news that occurred to them was concerning another victory Montrose had upon the twelfth day obtained at Aberdeen, in this manner: The lord Burleigh being there to execute some commands put upon him by the committee of estates, hearing of Montrose's being in those parts, called to him the Forbeses and the Frazers, all which were furious in the cause, with such of the name
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of Gordon as chose to follow the marquis of Huntley's son, Lodovick Gordon, who was there in person; and they being got together, brought forth also the citizens of Aberdeen, and the lord Elcho's regiment, which at that time quartered there to keep the country in order.

Montrose hearing thereof, marched towards them, and after some dispute, obtained an absolute victory, although their numbers at that time also were very unequal; for of foot they were reckoned to be above 2500, and of horse 500; whereas Montrose had of horse 44, and foot scarce 1600; the men of Athol and Badenoch, which after Tippermuir fight had gone home with the spoil, not being yet returned; and Kilpont's men all stole away since his death.

After the battle, Montrose had the town surrendered to him; where he shewed great mercy, both pardoning the people and protecting their goods. And having refreshed his army there for two days, did, upon the fifteenth, march northward.

Argyle and Lothian with their army followed him, yet with such slowness, that in Montrose's whole progress throughout the north of Scotland, they never came up to him, and when upon the fourth of October he returned to Athol, they were eight days march behind him.

Whereupon Montrose rested his army there, until he dispatched Macdonald with a party of 500 men towards the far Highlands,

lands, to invite the laird of Maclean, the captain of Clanronald, and others, to join him; and then marched down to Dunkeld, and from thence eastward through Angus, toward Brechin and Montrose, where he staid ten days refreshing himself and his army. And all this while it was wondered what had become of Argyle and Lothian, with their army; but, at length, upon October fourteenth, they came to Athol, and descending towards the Stormont, went east through Angus after Montrose, who, by that time, was marched towards the north again.

In the mean time the committee of estates, and commission of the general assembly, were very angry, that he was not already swallowed up, and exercised their wrath upon such as they could reach: So, by their order, the earl of Hartfield, the laird of Hempfield, with divers of the name of Maxwell, were imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh; and of Montrose's friends (to bear them company) the laird of Fintry, the younger, the master of Maderty, the lairds of Braco, Orchil, and Inchbrakie, the elder: And, in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, were put captain Melvil, Henry Graham, Montrose's natural brother, and Andrew Graham, his servant, who being taken in the north of England, had been sent hither to the committee: As also Archibald lord Napier, Montrose's brother-in-law, Archibald master of Napier, his son, and Sir George Stirling of Keir, his son-in-law, all confined to the lord Napier's

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lodgings or apartment in Holyroodhouse, not to stir from thence, each of them under pain of 1000*l.* Sterling. Likewise divers assassins were secretly employed, and large rewards promised them for it, to murder Montrose and Macdonald; and, for that end, had permission given them to join their army, whereby they might have the better opportunity; but providence disappointed that plot.

The commission of the general assembly excommunicated colonel Nathaniel Gordon, and appointed a fast to be kept throughout the kingdom, and in their armies at home and abroad, upon the last Sabbath of October, and Wednesday following, for success against Montrose. And ere the diet thereof came, they were lifted up with the news they received anent the taking of Newcastle, which upon the nineteenth day was taken by storm, yet without much blood. Sir James Lumfden was made governor of it, and James Sword, burgess of St. Andrews, collector of the customs. They found in it, and made prisoners, Lodovick, earl of Crawford, lords Maxwell, and Rea, Thomas Ogilby of Powry, and Dr. Wishart, minister thereof, who were all sent home to Edinburgh; and at their arrival it was debated in the committee, at the instigation of some of the most violent ministers, whether Crawford should presently be beheaded, or delayed for some days, that he might suffer in company with the rest; and, by plurality of voices, the last carried it, so that they were altogether shut up in the tolbooth.

booth. And shortly after the lord Ogilby, who of a long time had been the general's prisoner, was also sent down; and, by the committee's appointment, quartered in the tolbooth with the rest. These emergents kept up their hearts, though otherwise much perplexed because of Montrose's success.

In the mean time Argyle and Lothian were following him northward; and though he could easily have outmarched them, yet, to try if they intended to face him, he halted for some days at Fyvie, which they understood not until they were close by him; thereupon followed some skirmishes, but they declined to engage in battle; neither did the ground give him such advantage, as to constrain them to fight.

It was there that Argyle and Lothian drew away from Montrose, Kinnoul, colonel Hay, colonel Sibbald, and almost all the lowland men that had joined him, except only the earl of Airly and his sons, who never left him. Nor was Montrose much displeased therewith, considering that they could hardly have endured the winter toil. And for Nathaniel Gordon, his deserting was by Montrose's direct allowance, that so he might have opportunity to deal with his young chief the Lord Gordon, to join, wherein he proved both faithful and successful.

Montrose having left Fyvie, marched to Frendraught; from thence to Strathbogie, and afterwards throughout the rest of those high-

lands, until he came to Athol, where he was met by Macdonald, and with him the laird of Maclean, the captain of Clanronald, and their men, which made up a very great recruit. Glengarie had formerly joined and persevered to the end.

In all his march from Fyvie to Athol, Argyle and Lothian never came up to him; and having, at length, heard of the joining of those highlanders, they became weary of their employment, and, without more ado, went to Edinburgh, and delivered up their commissions to the committee of estates, receiving from them an act of approbation of their service, which many said they deserved the better, because they had shed no blood.

The posture of affairs at that period of time wrought a great change in people; many who had formerly been violent, began to talk moderately of business. And what was most taken notice of, was the luke-warmness of many amongst the ministry, who now, in their preaching, had begun to abate much of their former zeal.

This galled the commission of the general assembly; and, for remedy, having the pretext of a quarrel against Mr. George Halyburton, minister of Perth, and Mr. John Graham, minister of Auchterarder, because upon a pressing occasion, they did once speak with Montrose, at his being in the town of Perth; so that, without any other cause so much as alledged, they did formally depose them both upon November twenty-seventh, where

whereby others might have warning to take heed of their walking.

The commission did also at that time conclude a national fast, to be observed upon the first Sabbath in January next. And farther, upon advertisement from the commissioners at London, concerning the state of the reformation, the commission concluded upon the calling a general assembly to meet at Edinburgh upon January twenty-second; and, for that effect, dispatched letters to the several presbyteries, to send commissioners against that day.

Since Argyle and Lothian gave up their commissions, the committee had been thinking on whom to pitch; at length they resolved upon major-general Bailie, and commissioned him to be their commander in chief in the northern expedition: Who appointed his first rendezvous at Perth, where the lord Maitland's regiment quartered, and called thither Crawford-Lindsay's regiment from Dundee, and the remainder of Elcho's regiment from Aberdeen, expecting more to be sent him shortly from Newcastle.

In the mean time Montrose marched in a full body to Breadalbine, Glenorchy's country; which the marquis of Argyle having understood, hastened away from Edinburgh towards his own country, to levy his highlanders, upon an apprehension that from Breadalbine, Montrose would direct his course thither. And so it fell out, Glenorchy's lands being wasted by him, he marched straight to

Inverary, the marquis's chief dwelling; upon the knowledge whereof, his lordship was so frightened, that long before Montrose came near him, he fled to a boat, whereby he escaped, having left his friends to shift for themselves: So, without any opposition, Montrose wasted his country, but shed no blood, in regard that all the people following their lord's laudable example, delivered themselves by flight also.

By this time Sir John Urry being returned, was, by the committee, appointed major-general under Bailie: He had first fought on the parliament's side against the king; afterwards turned over for the king, and fought under him against them; now having abandoned both sides, came home, and embraced this charge against Montrose; and many prophesied, that ere all were done, he would change again, and join himself to Montrose, which at length came to pass.

Bailie, and with him Crawford-Lindsay, knowing of Montrose's being in Argyle, did, in the end of December, march west to Dumbarton, intending, as they professed, for Argyle, to encounter him there. And, at Dumbarton, they found the marquis of Argyle himself, having, upon his flight from Inverary, retreated thither for shelter, who promised to shew them the way. But having the next day gotten certainty, that Montrose had removed from that country, and marched away towards Glenco and Lochaber; Bailie and Crawford, parting from the marquis, brought

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brought back their army to Angus, resolving to march northwards to the shire of Aberdeen; and from thence go up to Montrose, wheresoever they could find him.

And the marquis of Argyle knowing well that the enemy was gone, went home with pomp, and convened all his friends from their lurking-places, to follow upon Montrose's rear. And to make his power the more formidable, called over from Ireland Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, a colonel in the Scots army there, and divers other commanders of his name.

The project was, that when Bailie's army did charge Montrose in the front, Argyle and his men, who were till then to march slowly, and keep at a distance, should come up and fall upon his rear, whereby he might inevitably be swallowed up.

1645.

UPON the second of January, 1645, the Scots parliament met at Edinburgh, and, by authority thereof, the marquis of Montrose, and earl of Airly, were forefaulted, and their estates seized upon. Thereafter they passed amongst all of that faction, under the names of James Graham and James Ogilby; and it was reckoned no small malignancy to stile or distinguish them by their titles.

The parliament did also approve and ratify the act of the late convention of estates concerning the excise.

Their progress in other matters was the slower, until they should fully know what might be the tendency of that controversy lately fallen out betwixt Manchester and Oliver Cromwell, his lieutenant-general, whereby the army was in hazard to divide. For now Cromwell had accused, before the house of commons, Manchester, for betraying their army at Dennington-castle, and for other things; as Manchester had also accused him in the house of lords, for plotting a parity in the state, and independency in the church. Many, at first, were of opinion, that Manchester would prevail, but the contrary fell out, and that upon this occasion.

By this time the independent faction, whereunto Cromwell joined, preaching and praying as fast as any of them, was now become predominant in the house of commons; and they having designs, wherein Essex, Manchester, and divers other prime commanders, would not go along with them, did therefore intend to lay them aside: And, to effect this, they framed and passed an act, That, during that parliament, Cromwell excepted, no member thereof should have any office, military or civil, whereby they might the better attend the house. Hereby were cashiered Essex, Manchester, Stanford and Denbigh, and the power of the sword brought wholly into the hands of the commons.

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Whereupon followed the new model, wherein Sir Thomas Fairfax was made general, and Cromwell his lieutenant general; for he not being yet eminent enough to command in chief, behoved, for the credit of the parliament, to have one above him: Yet that the power might reside in him, they pitched upon one, who they presumed would not obscure him.

The general assembly sate down at Edinburgh, upon January twenty-second, at which time every one had in his hand that book lately published by Mr. Samuel Rutherford, intitled *Lex Rex*, which was stuffed with positions, that in the time of peace and order, would have been judged damnable treasons; yet were now so idolized, that whereas in the beginning of the work, Buchanan's treatise, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, was looked upon as an oracle, this coming forth, it was slighted, as not anti-monarchical enough, and Rutherford's *Lex Rex* only thought authentic. Unto the assembly came Mr. Bailie, and Mr. Gillespie, from London; and, after a long discourse, presented a directory for worship, which having been framed by the divines at Westminster, was sent for this assembly's approbation. The said directory being perused by a committee nominated for that effect, and a report made concerning their satisfaction therewith, it was ratified by the assembly.

The proceedings of the commission of the last assembly being examined, were approved,

and the assembly's thanks given them for their fidelity and diligence; as also a new committee, consisting of those same members, established for the year following. Thereafter the assembly sent Mr. Dickson, Blair, Cant, and some others, to present to the parliament the directory, and to desire the ratification thereof, which was heartily granted.

Thus all went well, and there was great rejoicing both in the assembly and parliament. But the same was soon checked by an advertisement they received of a third victory Montrose had obtained at Inverlochy, upon February second, whereof the story was thus.

Whilst Montrose was on his march eastward towards Murray, he had notice from Allan Macildowie of Lochaber, that Argyle with all his power was following him in the rear, and knowing that both Bailie and Urry were before him, he considered, that if he suffered himself to be attacked both before and behind, he might run a risque; therefore, instead of marching forward, he turned about, and went to speak with Argyle. The country people favouring him, Argyle heard nothing concerning his returning, until the second day of his marching at even, when he was come the full length, and had pitched close by Argyle's army. The next morning, betimes, the work began, but ere then, the marquis had provided for his own safety, by taking himself to his boat again, and with him, to bear him company, the laird of Niddry, Sir James Rollo of Duncruib, Archibald Sydeserf,

serf, bailie of Edinburgh, and Mr. Mungo Law, minister thereof, whom he had invited to go along with him, to bear witness to the wonders he purposed to perform in that expedition. From his boat he looked and saw the day lost, and most part of his friends cut off, the number of the slain on his side, being acknowledged by some few that escaped, to have exceeded 1500. Colonel John Cockburn, and colonel John Roch, with some others, retired to the old castle of Inverlochy, and held it out till they procured quarter for their lives and liberties, which was granted upon oath, never more to carry arms against Montrose: For observance whereof, they were afterwards dispensed with from going to the field; and, instead thereof colonel Cockburn appointed governor of Stirling-castle, and colonel Roch of the town of Perth. The earl of Callender did not take it well, that his regiment being in the castle of Stirling, colonel Cockburn should be set over his lieutenant-colonel, but it having pleased the parliament so to do, his business was to be quiet. On Montrose's side, except Sir Thomas Ogilby, son to the earl of Airly, there were only three killed, and those common soldiers; whereof the reason was said to be, that the Argilians, being discouraged, by reason of their lord's withdrawing, never stood to it, but fled at the first, and were all cut down in the flight.

This defeat at Inverlochy caused great sadness both in parliament and assembly, yet

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was much the better digested, because of the marquis his personal safety, who, upon February eleventh, arrived at Edinburgh, and went straight to the parliament, having his left arm tied up in a scarf, as if he had been at bones-breaking. There he did give an account of that unfortunate expedition; whereupon, the next day the lord Balmerino did, in the general assembly, make a discourse in reference thereto, wherein he affirmed, that the great loss reported to be sustained at that fight, was but the invention of malignants, who spake as they wished it; and that upon his honour, the marquis of Argyle had not thirty persons killed in the whole. The contrary being certainly known, many thought strange, that he, who was a nobleman, could speak so in a public audience: Yet credulous and deluded people believed him, and upon that account began to be jovial again.

But shortly after came certainty from England of an emergent, which contributed more to their joy; and it was, that the treaty betwixt the king and parliament, held at Uxbridge on January thirtieth, was now broken up, and all hope of accommodation gone; for which his majesty did much blame the Scots commissioners at London, who were the better beloved, because their greatest intimacy was with that party in the parliament that crushed it.

In the mean time, the general assembly sent in Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. James Guthry, and Mr.

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Mr. Patrick Gillespie, to the parliament, to press the execution of the earl of Crawford, lord Ogilby, and all the rest of the prisoners in the tolbooth, which the parliament commended as an act of great zeal and piety in the assembly; yet deferred the performance for a time, until Montrose should be brought lower; lest otherwise, if, through misfortune, any of their friends happened to fall into his hands, he might repay it. And next after this address to the parliament, the assembly resolved to shew an act of mercy themselves, in restoring of Mr. George Halyburton to his ministry at Perth, and Mr. John Graham to his ministry at Auchterarder, which came to pass in this manner.

Dame Margaret Halyburton, lady of Cowpar, came over the frith, and, with oaths, vowed to my lord Balmerino, that unless he caused her cousin to be re-instated, he should never enjoy the favour of the lordship of Cowpar. This commination set Balmerino at work for him. And, as to the other, Mr. Graham, the earl of Lanerk pressed the like on his behalf, being moved thereto because his wife was a Hamilton, descended from that archbishop of St. Andrews, who suffered at Stirling.

Lanerk and Balmerino being solicitors for them, the assembly yielded to their re-establishment, but with two provisos, which those noblemen consented to. The first was, that they should make their repentance upon their knees before the respective presbyteries, and

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and over again before the synodical assembly; and that the testimony thereof being brought unto the commission of the general assembly, the said commission should restore them; all which was performed. The other proviso was, that lest the indulgence extended to them should encourage others to malignancy, an act should be presently made by the assembly, that after them none that happened to be deposed should ever after be restored to the kirks at which they had formerly served; which act was voted and concluded. So the general assembly rose upon February thirteenth, having first appointed the meeting of the next general assembly to be at Edinburgh, upon the first Wednesday of June, 1646.

Montrose having, after the action at Inverlochy, refreshed his army with some days rest, marched eastward towards Murray, where, at Elgin, he kept his committees peaceably, and to him joined the lord Gordon and his friends, the laird of Grant's men, and divers considerable highlanders. Upon the hearing whereof the parliament was much affected; and many thought that the grief which it caused to the earl of Lauderdale hastened him to his grave, who was buried upon March fifth. And in his place Crawford-Lindsay was made president of the council; such was the power of the Hamiltonian faction at that time. After which, that all men might be at leisure to suppress these rogues, the parliament hastened to a conclusion. So three committees were nominated, one to re-
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pair to the army in England, whereof Argyle was the principal; another to sit at the helm in Edinburgh, and of it the chief was Balmerino; the third to go along with Bailie against Montrose; this consisted of Crawford-Lindsay, and of Lanerk and his elients. And upon the eighth of March the parliament adjourned to the second of July following.

Montrose being now much strengthened by his late recruits, marched southward to Aberdeen, and from thence through the Mearns, whereupon Bailie, with his committee, brought up his army to meet them, the length of English-Madie: And there, for the space of two days, viz. the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of March, the armies were in view of each other; so that Montrose prepared for battle, but Bailie and his committee declined it; whereupon he removed westward to the river of Tay; and Bailie came to be blamed for letting that opportunity slip, although it was so resolved by his committee's advice. And shortly after he sustained a greater blame, for suffering Montrose to make such a handsome and safe retreat from his desperate attempt at Dundee; yet in this he had Urry to bear a part of the censure: And the truth was, they were more afraid to engage than Montrose was, which being observed, the committee at Edinburgh thought upon a way how they might be made stronger, and for that end, dispatched a message to Ireland for 1000 disciplined men, to be sent home to join them. These came over quickly, having

ing colonel Home their leader; and that afterwards they might bring Montrose into a hose-net, they resolved to divide their army in two; one to go north, under Sir John Urry's command, and the other under Bailie, to stay in Angus, and about the low country, to be ready upon occasion. Urry marched presently towards Aberdeen, carrying with him one regiment of horse, and two of foot, viz. the chancellor's and Crawford-Lindsay's; and at Aberdeen came to him a regiment from Sutherland, and Lawer's regiment from Inverness. Bailie, with his army, reckoned to be 3000 foot, and 500 horse, quartered at Killimore.

In the mean time Montrose, having dispatched Macdonald to the highlands, to make up levies, and sent Inchbrakie, colonel of Athol, to bring forth those people, whereof the most part had, after the battle of Inverlochy, gotten furloffs, until they should be called for, himself went with his army westward, towards Monteith, there to receive the lord Aboyne, whose resolutions were made known to him by letter, who having but 16 horse, did, notwithstanding all the garrisons, come from Carlisle, without molestation, to the ford of Cardross, where Montrose and he met, to their mutual joy. Bailie followed westward; and therefore Macdonald, knowing Montrose not to be strong enough for a battle, in regard of his and Inchbrakie's absence, with their regiments, resolved to make a diversion, and fell down,
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before they were aware, upon the Campbells, in the lordship of Cowpar, killing such of them as came into his hands; whereof notice being given to Bailie, he and his committee drew back their army, to take order with Macdonald; and so Montrose had a clear passage to the north, accompanied, besides the lord Aboyne, with another stranger; and this was his nephew Archibald, master of Napier, a gallant youth, both for body and mind. He having, since Montrose went first to the field, been in company with his noble father the lord Napier, and Sir George Stirling of Keir, his brother-in-law, under confinement in Holyroodhouse, resolved, at length, to break loose, and getting safely away, he came to his uncle at Cardross, upon Monday April twenty-first. But his escape procured from the committee hard measure to his friends, whom he left behind; for the lord Napier, his father, and the laird of Keir, were presently made prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh, and not long after dame Elizabeth Erskine, daughter to the earl of Mar, his lady, and Mrs. Lillias Napier, his sister, were sent after them to bear them company, and his other sister the lady Keir confined to Merchiston.

At that time fell out an accident, which proved very prejudicial to the king's affairs; this was the catching of a messenger that passed betwixt him and Montrose. The man's name was James Small, son to the laird of Fotherance, which, through the decay of that
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family, now belongs to Sir George Halyburton, one of the senators of the college of justice. This gentleman having served long at the court of England, did undertake to his majesty to hazard himself in bringing a packet of letters to Montrose; for effecting whereof he put on a beggar's habit, and so went safely through to the highlands of Scotland, where he found Montrose at that time; but in his return had not the like good fortune; for, having passed the river of Forth at Alloa, where he needed not fear bodily harm, the noble family of Mar being all generally loyal, he was at Elphinston, thro' the officiousness of a fellow that had known him at court, discovered, and the letters which he carried back taken from him, and himself, with them, sent next day by my lord Elphinston to the committee of estates at Edinburgh, who caused him to be hanged on the morrow, at the cross of Edinburgh, without farther delay: This was on May first. By these letters the committee came to know what they never had thought on, viz. how the king's business being so forlorn in England, that he could not make head against his enemies there, his majesty designed to come with his army to Scotland, and to join Montrose; that so this country being made the seat of war, his enemies might be forced to an accommodation, to free their land from a burden, which it could not stand under. The prevention of which design was afterwards gone about with success.

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Montrose, in the mean time, having, after his parting from Cardross, levied the Athol-men, as he passed through their country, went northward, to seek an encounter with Urry. And so soon as Bailie, and his committee, had certainty that Montrose, and with him the Athol-men, were all gone, they resolved to march up to Athol, and burn the country: Which having violently performed, while there was none at home to make resistance, they returned to Angus again, and after thought upon a march northward to Aberdeen. But ere this was concluded, they had certain advice of another victory obtained by Montrose over Urry at Old-Earn, upon May fourth. Urry's strength consisted of five regiments of foot, besides horse, to wit, Lothian's and Loudoun's regiments, both which he had carried to the north with him, Lawer's regiment, which came from Inverness to him, a regiment from Sutherland, and another of the earl of Seaforth's men. The victory, as it was absolute and bloody, so was it the more remarkable, in that neither Grant's men, nor the Macleans, were there, being upon other employments, and few of the Athol-men also, most of them being gone home, after they heard that their country was burned. This victory was very sad news both to the committee of estates and the commission of the general assembly; whereupon they met, to advise by what means people might be kept in a dependence upon them, and not fall away, because of
their

their enemies prevailing. And for as much as the pulpits had great influence upon the resolutions of the multitude; therefore the commission emitted a warning to the ministry, wherein they charged them to stand fixed, and, by their doctrine, to endeavour that their people might be so also, under pain of deposition; and, that their commands might not be despised, they were now and then deposing some of them, in the mean time, to fright the rest; as Mr. John Robertson, minister of Perth, Mr. James Row, minister of Muthel, Mr. William Barclay, minister of Falkland, and Mr. John Fife, minister of Foulis, all which were that year already cashiered.

But whilst those meetings at Edinburgh were troubled about Montrose's late victory, they had a cordial from England, which was the fatal overthrow his majesty sustained at Naseby, whereby the prejudice he received by the discovery of those letters, for which Mr. James Small suffered at Edinburgh, came to be generally understood: For while the king was on his march towards Scotland, some false-hearted men about him, whom he trusted more than they deserved, prevailed with him to lay aside that design, and turn south, toward Northamptonshire, where, as they confidently averred, four counties had associated for him, and were in a readiness to join him; but when he came there, instead of those associated counties, he found Fairfax and Cromwell, with their new-modelled army, waiting upon

upon him, who forced him to a battle, and obtained such a victory, as quite ruined his business: This was upon the fourteenth of June.

The certainty hereof being come, the committee gave orders for bonfires, and all other signs of joy throughout the land, and such as joined not therein, were taken notice of as enemies to the public. Yet shortly thereafter they met with a new cause of grief, and this was another victory Montrose obtained over Bailie at Alford, upon July second. For Urry having been defeated, Bailie, with the advice of his committee, went north to repay it; but had such fortune as the other. For, albeit the numbers were very unequal, yet Montrose's victory over him was both absolute and bloody; whereas, on his side, very few did fall, except the lord Gordon, with whose death Montrose was said to be exceedingly affected, and ordered his body to be buried very honourably at Aberdeen.

By this time the pestilence, which from Newcastle came to Kelso, was from thence transmitted to Edinburgh, and there raged so, that when the diet, unto which the parliament had been adjourned, was come, they sat down in Stirling-castle upon the second of July; and some days after, Bailie himself, and with him the lord Balcarras, who, by timely flying, had escaped the battle as well as he, arrived both at Stirling, and went to the parliament. Balcarras was welcomed by them; but as for Bailie, they were so ill satisfied

tified with him, that he had much difficulty to obtain an act of approbation of his service. The parliament sate at Stirling until the twelfth day, at which time the pestilence beginning to break out in that town, they behoved to think of a removal, and so adjourned themselves until the twenty-fourth of that month, to sit at Perth, having first appointed a great levy to be made for destroying their enemies, viz. all noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors whatsoever, to be at Perth in person, and well mounted before the said twenty-fourth day. And for tenants and servants, to make up a foot army, 10000 to be brought forth from the shires south of Tay, according to the proportions calculated thereanent. Montrose having heard of this muster which was to be at Perth, came forth against the day, and pitched in Messen wood. And, indeed, on their part, convened very many, more than double Montrose's number, yet they attempted nothing until after some days, but halted on the south side of Earn, when, perceiving that the Gordons, in whom consisted Montrose's strength as to his horse, were not there, they advanced towards him, but to no purpose. For Montrose not being minded to fight at that time, retired at his leisure, without either loss or affront, towards Dunkeld, to attend the Gordons, and others whom he was expecting to come up; and they went back to their leagure, after which most of them, both horse and foot, that had been newly levied, retired home, and

and very few remained with Argyle, Lanerk, Crawford-Lindsay, and Bailie, who, since the parliament's sitting at Stirling, were all joint commanders, except the old regiments.

By this time the Gordons, and other recruits, being come to Montrose, whereby he was at his greatest strength, he returned towards them, and endeavoured to draw them to a battle. But they declined it, and intrenched themselves at Kilgirston, professing, that so soon as the Fife-men, for whom they had sent, arrived, they would then take order with him. This coming to Montrose's ears, he marched southwards towards the kirk of Drone, to wait on the Fife-mens coming. But finding, after some days, no appearance of Fife-men, and that, on the other part, they kept within their trenches, and could not be made to engage, he marched first to Kinross, and then westward towards Stirling, where, in the way, Maclean, and his people, burned the parishes of Muckart and Dollor, belonging to the marquis of Argyle, in requital of the like formerly done by him in Maclean's country, as they alledged. The day whereon Montrose had marched from Kinross towards the west, he quartered his army at night in the wood of Tillibody near Alloa, where, though his Irish did barbarously plunder that town and lordship, yet the earl of Mar and lord Erskine, and their noble ladies, dispensed therewith, and the next day invited him, and his prime officers, to dinner. So he appointed Macdonald to
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march westward with the foot army, and bringing his horse for a guard, himself and the earl of Airly, and many more, were liberally feasted in the castle of Alloa, after which, having notice of the enemy's advancing towards them, they made the greater haste to overtake their foot. And being met, and considering the town of Stirling was consumed by the pestilence, resolved to pass by it, and so crossed both the Teith and Forth, two miles to the northward of it, and from thence marched on to Kilsyth, where they found the ground so advantageous for them, as made them resolve to halt there, until their enemies should come that length, which very shortly fell out: For, so soon as Montrose had marched westward from Kinross, three regiments of Fife-men, reckoned at 3000, whereof one commanded by the laird of Cammo, a second by the laird of Ferny, and the third by the laird of Fordel-Henderson, did join the covenanters army; as also did one regiment of Argyle's highlanders, reckoned to be 1200; and, being thus strengthened, it was resolved that Lanerk should presently ride to the west-country, and with the concurrence of Glencairn and Eglinton, there levy an army to come towards Montrose; and this army commanded by Argyle, Crawford, and Bailie, to follow him in the rear; whereby the one being behind, and the other before him, he might be brought into a hose-net.

Lanerk

Lanerk went presently away for that end, and Argyle, Crawford-Lindsay, and Bailie, marched westward in the very path which Montrose had traced. And as they advanced towards Stirling, the marquis of Argyle caused to be burnt the house of Menstry, belonging to the earl of Stirling, his majesty's secretary, and the house of Aithray, belonging to Sir John Graham of Braco, and withal sent advertisement to the earl of Mar, that after their return from following their enemies, he might expect to have his castle of Alloa burned, for the hospitality Montrose had found in it: But providence determined otherwise; for of those they carried west, very few returned again. And it would appear, that the Fife-men expected no better of it; for, when they were come the length of Stirling, they refused obstinately to march farther, alledging, that when they were levied, it had been promised them, that they should not be urged to go beyond the limits of their own shire; and therefore, having now, out of good-will, come much farther, they would on no terms cross the river of Forth.

But their leaders set their ministers on work to deal with them, who told them jolly tales, that Lanerk, Glencairn, and Eglington, were levying an army to join them; and therefore entreated, that they would for only one day more go on, until that westland army approached, and then they should be discharged; whereunto these poor people con-

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sented, and so went as far as Kilsyth, from whence few or none of them returned.

For, upon August the fifteenth, there followed a battle at Kilsyth, wherein Montrose carried an absolute victory; their foot, which were reckoned 7000, being wholly cut off in the flight, except very few stragglers that escaped; yet no loss on Montrose's side, except seven or eight persons, whereof three were gentlemen of the name of Ogilby, the rest but common soldiers. The reason whereof was, because the covenanters never stood to it, but upon the first charge given by the earl of Airly and his friends, did all fly on a sudden, their horse riding over the foot, and among the horse the nobles the first of any: But, beyond them all, the marquis of Argyle, who never looked over his shoulder, until, after twenty miles riding, he reached the south Queensferry, where he possessed himself of a boat again.

Lanerk and Glencairn, and the rest, who, in the mean time were about their levies, having heard of this defeat which their friends had sustained, left off their work; and both they and the nobles that had fled from Kilsyth, made it their first care to provide for a shelter: For Glencairn and Cassils fled over to Ireland; and to Berwick went the chancellor, the marquis of Argyle, the earls of Crawford-Lindsay, Lanerk, and others.

After the battle, Montrose staid two days at Kilsyth to refresh his army; and, by that time, came from the city of Glasgow two com-

commissioners, viz. Sir Robert Douglas, and Mr. Archibald Fleming commissary, to congratulate his victory, and to invite him to honour their town with a visit. Whereupon next day, being accompanied with his army, he went thither, and was received with much solemnity, and with an acknowledgment of bypast disloyalty, for which they begged his mercy. And thence removing to Bothwell kirk, the shire of Linlithgow sent commissioners to him for that same end; and which is more, so did the shire of Renfrew, and others in the west; Bishopton, Greenock, and Duchal junior, were their commissioners, who acknowledged rebellion as fast as any, laying the blame thereof upon their ministers; yea, and so did also the burghs of Irvine and Air. Montrose pardoned them all, upon their promises of exemplary loyalty for the future; whereunto they did solemnly engage themselves, and so were discharged. After this, Montrose sent Macdonald with a party to the west, to fright them that had not come to express their submission, and to him all did homage; and no where found he so hearty a welcome as at Loudoun-castle, where the chancellor's lady embraced him in her arms, and having entertained him very sumptuously, sent afterwards her servant John Halden with him, to present her service to the marquis of Montrose.

Montrose's next care was for the prisoners in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, who had been sentenced to death, viz. Lodovick earl of

Crawfurd, the lords Ogilby and Rea, the lairds of Drum, Ogilby of Powry, and Dr. Wishart (for, before this time, Drum's brother, Robert Irvine, died in the prison;) so, for their sakes, he dispatched his Nephew Archibald master of Napier, and with him Nathaniel Gordon, to receive into protection the city of Edinburgh, and to bring from thence those prisoners; which they did; as also at Linlithgow, finding two prisoners more, viz. Archibald lord Napier, and Sir George Stirling of Keir, his son-in-law, who, because the pestilence raged in Edinburgh-castle, had obtained so much favour, as to be transported from it to the prison of Linlithgow, he brought them with the rest; all which were most welcome to Montrose.

At the same time also joined to him divers of the nobility, viz. the marquis of Douglas, the earls of Annandale and Hartfield, the lords Erskine, Seaton, Drummond, Fleming, Johnston, and Maderty, and divers knights and gentlemen also, among whom was Sir John Hamilton of Orbiston, justice-clerk, and Archibald Primrose, clerk to the committee of estates, whom he welcomed, fancying by that means to draw over the earl of Lanerk to his side: Altho' Archibald lord Napier, and others about him, warned him rather to take heed, that, instead thereof, they wrought not a division in his army, and debauched some he had already, it being their conjecture, that Lanerk had sent them thither for that end.

The next dispatch which Montrose made (since the marquis of Douglas, the earls of Annandale and Hartfield, the lords Erskine, Seaton, Drummond, Fleming, Johnston, Maderty, and others, were now all joined with him) was to send the said marquis, and with him the lord Ogilby, into the south, for levying all the horse in Annandale, Dumfries, &c. to join in the service. And at that time arrived from the king, Sir Robert Spotswood (who having been formerly president of the session, was now, since Lanerk's defection, secretary of state) and delivered to Montrose his majesty's commission, constituting him captain-general, and deputy-governor of Scotland, with ample power to make knights, summon parliaments, &c. Whereupon he did presently knight Alexander Macdonald, and next appointed a parliament to sit at Glasgow upon October twentieth, which he caused to be proclaimed at the mercat crosses of Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Glasgow.

But, in the mean time, his adversaries, who had fled to Berwick, were not idle; for the Scots army being then at the siege of Hereford, near Wales, they called for David Lesley, with his whole strength of horse, to come home, who wrote back, that he should make all the haste he could, and would come so strong, as he made no question to swallow up Montrose, if he found him in the low country: But, on the other hand, in case he happened to retire to the

highlands, he would be forced to leave the business undone, and retreat, in regard the country could not sustain the burden of his horse. Whereupon they wrote to the earl of Tullibardine, in whom they had then great confidence, to advertise and assemble all their friends, both high and low, to ly betwixt him and the hills.

But they found instruments nearer to them, whose actions contributed more to their design, whether intentionally, or by accident, I shall not determine; those were the earls of Roxburgh and Home, whom they sent messengers to Montrose, to congratulate his success, and to shew how earnestly they desired to come like themselves, and to join with him; but that whilst they endeavoured levies, they found their friends and followers obstinately unwilling to engage, until Montrose himself should come upon the place, which, if he thought fit to do, they would undertake for the whole country to join him. His answer to them was, That he should send orders to the marquis of Douglas, and lord Ogilby, to come towards them with their forces, in order to further their levies: But they left it not so, but, by new messengers, sent to him again, shewing that nothing but his own presence could satisfy that country; and therefore entreated him, by the most insinuating arguments they could use, to come thither in person; so that he, at length, condescended, altho' many about him

him disallowed it, and divers emergents fell out, which might have dissuaded him from it; as, First, The men of Athol, and Maclean's men, must needs go home, and repair their buildings, which had been burnt; nor could they be diverted from it. Next, Sir Alexander Macdonald would needs go to Argyll, to revenge the injuries done to his father and friends, and carried with him, besides a strong party of Irish to be his life-guard, above 500 Scots highlanders, whom he had gained to desert the public service, and to follow him. Montrose dealt most seriously with him to have staid until they had been absolute conquerors, promising then to go thither himself, and be concurring with him in punishing them as they deserved; and withal told him, That his separating at this time must be the occasion of ruin to them both: But all was to no purpose, he would needs be gone; and, for a reason, enlarged himself, in reckoning up the marquis of Argyll's cruelties against his friends; who, as he said, did four years ago draw his father and brother to Inverary upon trust, and then made them prisoners; and since, his friends having retired to the isles of Jura and Rachen for shelter, sent Arkinglass, and the captain of Skipness, to the said isles to murder them, which, said he, they did without mercy, sparing neither women nor children: With these discourses he justified his departing, and would not be hindered. As also, after that Montrose had begun his march, which was

upon September fourth, the lord Aboyne deserted him, and carried away with him not only his friends of the name of Gordon, except colonel Nathaniel, but also all the north-land horse. This unexpected falling away, made Montrose see his error, in keeping so open a leagure at Bothwel, whereby men came to be admitted, that had thus debauched his army. Yet went he forward, and now having with him only some noblemen, and about 200 gentlemen that had joined him at Bothwel, together with 700 foot, whereof most part Irish, he quartered at Cranston kirk upon Saturday September sixth.

There he got intelligence, that David Lesley was already come the length of Berwick, with an irresistible power of horse. As also a friend of his at home, having, by providence, met with a copy of David Lesley's letter from Hereford, to the lords at Berwick, and of theirs to the earl of Tullibardine, in relation thereto, had sent them to the lord Erskine, who, the next morning, acquainted Montrose with the same, and told him from whom he had them. Montrose acknowledged his worth and faithfulness that sent them, but withal he said, that his fervency in the cause made him more afraid than he needed, and was so far from taking warning to retire, that, there being a fatality in the business, he marched southward sooner than before he intended: For, whereas at his coming thither, he designed to have rested on Sunday, and hear Dr. Wishart preach, now he altered

ed that resolution, and having discharged the sermon, presently advanced towards Strathgale. And being there, the marquis of Douglas, and lord Ogilby, came to him with their levied troops, as also upon the morrow he was saluted by the earl of Traquair, who having, with many oaths, asserted his fidelity, did frankly undertake to advertise him of David Lesley's motions; and, for a testimony of his honest meaning, the next day sent his son the lord Linton, with a troop of horse to attend him.

Montrose marched thence forward to Kelfo, expecting to have found the earls of Roxburgh and Home; but, by a party of David Lesley's horse, they were both ere then carried prisoners to Berwick; whereof he being informed, and that the party had been called for by Roxburgh himself, he saw then the treachery; and therefore presently marched westward to Selkirk, where he arrived upon Friday, September twelfth, purposing to have the next day turned his face to the north, and never ceased marching until he had reached the hills: But herein he was prevented; for the next morning, the day being so dark through fog and mist, that his scouts could make no discovery, David Lesley and his army were upon the place before he was aware. The surprizal was generally attributed to some advertisement Traquair had sent him, concerning Montrose his weakness: For, it was known, that after David Lesley understood of his being in the south,

he did nevertheless march northward to Lothian, and there at Gladsmuir concluded, in a council of war, to advance westward towards the foot of the Grampian hills, and attend his return; yet having gotten a private advertisement, he did, contrary to that conclusion, presently turn to the south, and go to him, whereat his consorts wondered. That Traquair had sent the advertisement, it was esteemed the more probable, because, at midnight, before the battle, he privately called away his son the lord Linton and his troop, without giving any notice thereof to Montrose. However, upon Saturday, September thirteenth, David Lesley fell on; the marquis of Douglas's new-levied prickers did all flee at the first, being near their own homes, the rest stood to it, until they were almost inclosed; and then Montrose, with the horse retired, so that ere night the most part of them being joined, he was reckoned to be about 150 horse in train, only some were missing, who having mistaken the way, and fled in several paths, were taken by the country people, and delivered to the victors, viz. the earl of Hartfield, the lords Drummond, and Ogilby, Sir Robert Spotswood, Sir Alexander Lesley of Auchintoul, Sir William Rollok, Sir Philip Nisbet, William Murray brother to the earl of Tullibardine, Alexander Ogilby of Innerquharity, Nathaniel Gordon, Mr. Andrew Guthry son to the bishop of Murray, and others.

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Montrose's foot, so soon as the horse were gone, drew to a little fold, which they maintained, until Stuart the adjutant, being amongst them, procured quarter for them from David Lesley; whereupon they delivered up their arms, and came forth to a plain field, as they were directed. But then did the churchmen quarrel, that quarter should be given to such wretches as they, and declared it to be an act of most sinful impiety to spare them, wherein divers of the noblemen complied with the clergy; and so they found out a distinction, whereby to bring David Lesley fairly off; and this it was, that quarter was only meant to Stuart the adjutant himself, but not to his company: After which, having delivered the adjutant to Middleton to be his prisoner, the army was let loose upon them, and cut them all in pieces.

The principal men that had gone off with Montrose, were the marquis of Douglas, Lodovick earl of Crawford, and the lords Erskine, Fleming, and Napier, who, as they advanced, did overtake the rest of the horse, who had fled more timeously. Those who being taken by the country people, were delivered to the victors, and were by them sent to several prisons; most of them to the castle of Edinburgh, some to the castle of Stirling, and some to other places, there to be kept until they should resolve about the time and place of their execution. Only two Irish commanders, who happened to be taken, were

were presently dispatched; those were colonel O-kyan, and major Laghlin, two whom Montrose had in great esteem, who being brought to Edinburgh, were, without delay, hanged upon the Castle-hill.

Montrose, and his party, passed through Strathern to Athol, where he did presently levy 400 foot; and, having appointed the rest to be in a readiness against his return, with those and the horse that came with him from the field, he marched to Mar, where the lord Erskine made his people to join, and thence to the marquis of Huntley's bounds, where he found no ready obedience; for the marquis having left Strathnaver, where he formerly lurked, and now being returned home, did his uttermost to spoil the business in Montrose's hands, which some ascribed to his envy of Montrose's glory, and others to some influence the earl of Lanerk had upon him, whose kinsman he was.

Being disappointed of the help he expected from Huntley, his care was the greater to have Macdonald join him again; therefore he sent to Argyle, his adjutant-general, to use all the persuasions he could for his return, but all in vain; for, on no terms, could he be moved to concur with Montrose in the service; and so they never met again.

David Lesley, after his victory, brought his army forward to Lothian, and from thence convoyed the committee of estates, and the commission of the church, to Glasgow, where they sate some days, advising what farther course

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course was to be taken against Montrose; and, withal, concluded presently, to give David Lesley, for a token of their gratitude, 50,000 merks Scots, with a chain of gold, and to Middleton 25,000 merks. After this, they resolved to carry the army to Angus, where, after the carse of Gowry was pretty well exhausted, they appointed the headquarters to be at Forfar, and the army remaining there, both the committee of estates, and commission of the church sat down at Perth.

The commission, being proud of the late victory, was now more violent than formerly; so that the first business taken into consideration, was, that such of the ministry as had not mourned for Montrose's victory at Kilsyth, might be censured: Whereupon they descended to examine into every man's deportment, whom they supposed to be disaffected to their way; and, being helped by a number of sycophants among them, who well enough understood, that cruelty was the only way to procure respect, had information given them against very many learned and pious ministers, who, in that time of darkness, as they called it, had bewrayed their disaffection; which, without any farther inquiry, they judged a sufficient ground, for processing them towards deposition.

The next thing the commission went about, concerned the deposition of mens heads; in order whereunto they sent Mr. William Bennet, moderator in Mr. Douglas's absence, and

and, with him, two others, to the committee of estates, to press the execution of the prisoners; who, at their return, made their report to this effect: That having proposed the commission's desire, divers of the chief lords of the committee slighted the same, and so they were like to have obtained nothing, had not the earl of Tullibardine very seasonably risen up and spoken to this purpose, " That, " because he had a brother among those " men, it might be that their lordships so " valued his concurrence with them in the " good cause, that, for respect of him, they " were the more loath to resolve upon the " question: But that, as for himself, since " that young man had joined with that wicked crew, he did not esteem him his brother; and therefore declared, that he " would take it for no favour, if, upon that " account, any indulgence were granted " him." This, said Mr. Bennet, made those of the committee, who before had disrelished the motion, to hang down their heads; and so it came to be concluded, that ten of them should be executed, viz. the earl of Hartfield, the lord Ogilby, Sir Robert Spotswood secretary, William Murray brother to the earl of Tullibardine, Alexander Ogilby of Innerquharity, Sir William Rollok, Sir Philip Nisbet, colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Stuart the adjutant, and Mr. Andrew Guthry, son to the bishop of Murray. Whether or no the earl of Tullibardine spoke so in the committee of estates, I leave undetermined; but

but that Mr. Bennet reported it of him in the commission of the kirk, and that those other two, who had been with him, gave their assent to it, I may confidently aver, being an ear-witness thereof.

After which, both the committee of estates, and the commission of the church, adjourned to the third of October, and appointed their meeting, that day, to be held at Dunse in the Merse, for sending to Berwick some of their Number, to meet with commissioners deputed from the parliament of England. And the week following, after their meeting, the committee of estates, and commission of the church, did both convene at St. Andrews, to receive an account from those that went to Berwick; whereof the sum was, that the English would needs be freed of the Scots army; and, withal, have the towns of Newcastle and Carlisle delivered unto them: Whereunto they behoved to have a clear and positive answer at the sitting down of the parliament at St. Andrews, upon November twenty-sixth. And, in the mean time, they had an account from the north, how Montrose having got up a considerable army, intended to march south towards Glasgow, where, before his defeat, he had proclaimed his parliament to sit upon October twentieth; and therefore both the committee of estates, and commission of the church, resolved to go thither against that time; and, for that effect, sent orders presently to the western shires, to come forth, both horse and foot, to attend
their

their arrival; as also for a convoy, they carried along with them David Lesley, with the one half of his horse, and appointed Middleton to quarter the other half, till their return, at Alloa, to destroy the earl of Mar's lands, because of the loyalty of that noble family, and that the lord Erskine was actually with Montrose.

At Glasgow they caused to be executed at the mercat-cross, upon October twenty-eighth, Sir William Rollok, and the next day, Sir Philip Nisbet, and Alexander Ogilby of Innerquharity, whereof the first was but lately come home from foreign parts, and the last was but a boy of scarce eighteen years of age, lately come from the schools; and, upon that occasion it was, that Mr. David Dickson said, "The work goes bonnily on;" which passed afterwards into a proverb. But the execution of the other prisoners they deferred till the sitting of the parliament at St. Andrews.

Montrose, in the mean time, had brought his main army to Lenox, and from thence faced Glasgow with parties several days, expecting their coming out to give him battle; but finding they meant not to fight, he returned again with his army to Athol, where he received the sad news of the death of Archibald lord Napier, his brother-in-law, whom he had left sick at Fancastle.

That nobleman was so very old, that he could not have marched with them, yet, in respect of his great wisdom and experience, he might

might have been very useful in his councils. Montrose took care that his funeral in the kirk of Blair should be performed with due solemnities. And afterwards considering, upon that occasion, that the marquis of Douglas, the lords Erskine and Fleming, and the gentlemen who, having joined at Bothwell, yet adhered to him, would not be able to endure the toil of his winter-marches; therefore he allowed them all to let their friends capitulate for their off-coming; which was done; and himself, and the earl of Airly, who never abandoned him, went towards Huntley's country again, to use farther means for engaging him; where he found him embarked in a course, which put him out of hope. And this it was, viz. That, by virtue of the commission from his majesty, whereby he had taken arms in the year 1643, before Montrose entered the country, he chose now again to leap out, and, with the assistance of his friends, to assert the king's interest in those parts, not acknowledging Montrose. This troubled Montrose, considering that hereby he should be robbed of the gentlemen of the name of Gordon, in whom consisted the strength of his horse; and therefore he resolved, by all means, to court the marquis of Huntley, for an union of their forces and interests, and, to that effect, staid a long time in those parts.

In the mean while, there being throughout the country a general groaning under the burden of David Lesley's army; for remedy whereof,

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whereof, the committee resolved to keep at home only a brigade under Middleton's command, to wait Montrose's motions; and that David Lesley, with the rest, should return to England: So immediately he marched away to Newcastle, where the Scots army then lay, having, after his coming to Scotland, retired without success from the siege of Hereford; and from Newcastle, very shortly after, both he and the rest went forwards to Newark upon Trent, to join with general Pointz, who had already beleaguered that town.

The parliament met at St. Andrews upon November twenty-sixth, and thither were brought from several prisons those that had been taken after the fight of Philiphaugh, to receive their doom, which Middleton's prisoner, Stuart, the adjutant, having notice of, found the way to make his escape, and went up to Montrose. Two noblemen, the earl of Hartfield, and lord Ogilby, being appointed to suffer first, the night before the execution, Ogilby escaped out of the castle of St. Andrews, in his sister's clothes, who, in his stead, lay in bed till he was gone; and Argyle conceiving this to be done by the means of the Hamiltons, in whom Ogilby had special interest, his mother being daughter of Thomas earl of Haddington, and himself thereby cousin-german to Crawford-Lindsay; therefore, to pay it home, he would needs have the earl of Hartfield spared, whose death they were thought to thirst after as earnestly as Argyle did Ogilby's. So the
first

first that was executed, was Sir Robert Spotswood, son to the late archbishop of St. Andrews, formerly president of the session, and now secretary of state, a man of extraordinary worth and integrity, and against whom, he never having been a swordsman, nothing could be pretended, but that he had lately brought down a commission from his master, the king, to the marquis of Montrose. After him suffered William Murray, brother to Tullibardine, colonel Nathaniel Gordon, and Mr. Andrew Guthry, son to the bishop of Murray.

The commission of the church pressed the parliament, that more might go the same way, which the noblemen refused, desiring they would help them with an overture, how the rest might be otherwise punished than by their blood. And the commission taking it into consideration, there were divers opinions about it; but Mr. David Dickson's was preferred to them all, who being asked by the moderator, what he thought best to be done with them, answered him, in his homely way of speaking, "Shame them, and herrie them;" this was applauded by the rest, and so made the overture, which they preferred to the parliament in reference to them: Whereupon the parliament appointed a great committee to sit at Linlithgow, upon February twenty-fifth, and unto it referred the whole remainder of the prisoners to be deeply fined.

1646.

THEREAFTER came several advertisements from the commissioners at London, bearing that the parliament of England would needs be freed of the Scots army, and therewith a declaration from that parliament, shewing by what items they had paid to the Scots all that they had owed them. And of these items, I remember one was of 80000 l. Sterling, to be allowed them for the cabbage the Scots had devoured: Hereby our great men saw how they were slighted by the English, and that they meant to give them no more money; which afflicted them much: For the generality of the kingdom being already royalists in heart, altho' they were so kept under, that they durst not profess it, they considered, that when the army was come home, if they had no money wherewith to bribe them to constancy in the cause, they would all turn for the king, which would be their undoing.

Therefore their wits were employed to find out a device, whereby they might yet get more English money, both for contenting the soldiers, and enriching themselves: And, indeed, they found one which could produce both; neither could they get it so secretly kept, but that it began to be talked of long before it was brought about. And this it was.

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The king's condition by this time was so low, that all men conjectured, he would ere long be necessitated to cast himself either upon the Scots or the English; therefore means were to be used, whereby his majesty might be moved to prefer the Scots: And, for this end, the earl of Loudoun chancellor, Balmerino, and Sir Archibald Johnston, were ordered to repair to London, and to join with Lauderdale, and the rest of the commissioners there already, for advancing that design. As also, the marquis of Argyle was appointed to go into Ireland, and bring over the Scots army from thence; that being strengthened with that accession, their power might be so formidable to the English, as to make them, to eschew a national quarrel, deal more thankfully with them, even albeit it should so fall out, that they got not the king at their disposing. These things being resolved on, the parliament did upon February fourth adjourn.

After which the chancellor, Balmerino, and Warriston, began their journey for London, as also did the marquis of Argyle his for Ireland; where, before he had passed by Stirling, he encountered there his few country people, who had out-lived Inverlochy and Kilsyth, in a very sad posture: Whereof the occasion was this. They having, at Macdonald's settling in Argyle, retired to corners, and lurked until hunger forced them to come out; Arkinglaff drew them together, they being about 1200, and brought them down
towards

towards Monteith, to have lived upon my lord Napier's tenants and other malignants; but Inchbrakie happening to be in Athol at that time, brought down 700 Athol-men, and fell upon them at Callender, where, at the first, they fled all like mad-men, divers of them being slain in the flight, and more drowned in the water of Guiddie, their haste being such, that they staid not to seek for fords: The rest who escaped made no halt, until they had crossed the water of Forth at the Drip, and arrived near Stirling, where the marquis found them; and not knowing how to dispose better of them, carried them with him to the shire of Renfrew, expecting that in those parts, where all people were furious in the cause, they should have been welcomed. But the contrary fell out; their neighbourhood was so displeasing to them, that presently they threatened to take arms, and cut them down, unless they were removed: Whereupon he sent them over to the Lenox to quarter upon the lord Napier's lands, and other royalists in those parts, where they lived the more securely, Inchbrakie, and his Athol-men being gone for the north to attend Montrose. Thereafter the marquis prosecuted his journey to Ireland, and the first fright his people had, though it came not near them, was a report that the young lord Napier, the laird of Macnab, and John Drummond of Balloch, with a foot company, had fortified Kincardine, Montrose's principal house, which indeed was true.

Whereupon

Whereupon Middleton drew his army thither, and upon refusing to surrender, brought a number of great ordnance from Stirling-castle, to batter the house. They held out for fourteen days, until the noise of the cannon had so dried up the water, that they had none either for man or horse; whereupon they were forced to think upon another course; and so at mid-night, the moon being set, the lord Napier and Balloch, with John Graham, the lord Napier's page, who only knew the way, leading out three horses at a private postern, mounted the same without any noise, rode thro' their guards, and safely escaped their hands. The rest did the next morning surrender upon capitulation, which being done, 35 of them were sent away prisoners to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and the remnant being 12 in number, were presently shot at a post; and then Middleton ordered the castle of Kincardine to be burnt, which was done upon the sixteenth day of March. And before Middleton's removing from that place, he received from the committee of estates, and commission of the church, an order to go northward, in regard of an advertisement they had gotten of Montrose's thriving in his levies, whereof the state was thus. Having spent much time in courting the marquis of Huntley to an union, and finding no appearance of it, he left him to better thoughts, and went northward to Ross, where he became so terrible to that shire, and others adjacent, that the earl of Seaforth, who formerly

merly had always kept a loose foot, now joined cordially to him, and was instrumental to bring in the rest of the great men in those northern parts; wherein he prevailed so far, that, albeit at first, they would not come the length to declare for Montrose, yet they agreed to subscribe a bond of confederation, for preserving a national peace, against all that obstructed the same; and upon those terms to take up arms.

The principal hands at the bond, were the earls of Sutherland and Seaforth, the lord Lovat, the clans of the Grants, Macintoshes, Dunbars, Monroes, with Macleods, Mackenzies, Macronalds, Inneses, Balnagowne, and Brodie.

A copy of the bond being brought south to the committee of estates, and commission of the church, both sitting at Edinburgh; for now the pestilence, through God's mercy, was vanished, they were much affected therewith. The commission of the kirk emitted a declaration, discovering the malignity of it; and the committee of estates, by proclamation at the mercat-cross of Edinburgh, condemned it; and both the declaration of the one, and proclamation of the other, were sent to the several presbyteries throughout the kingdom, with a peremptory command to all ministers to read them in their pulpits, and comment upon them: But the fear wherein that bond put the commission of the church, and committee of estates, was soon lessened; for the earl of Seaforth being ex-
cepted,

cepted, who thereafter never abandoned Montrose, so soon as he retired from those parts, most of the rest fell away: The earl of Sutherland wrote to the committee a penitential letter for his joining in the bond, and the lairds of Innes, Tarbat, and Brodie came to Edinburgh in person, and in presence of the commission disclaimed it, offering to remove the scandal they had given, by most solemn repentance.

While this was a-doing, came certainty, that Fairfax and Cromwell had besieged the city of Oxford, his majesty being in it: Whereupon mens conjectures were different, whether the king would commit himself to the Scots, or to the English.

But shortly after, the case was resolved by the lord Balmerino's return from London, who arrived at Edinburgh upon May second, and reported to the committee of estates, and commission of the church, how they had handled that matter so skilfully, and with such success, that he was confident the next advertisement should give an account of his majesty's being with the Scots army. Wherein he proved no false prophet; for, upon May tenth arrived a post bringing letters from the general, and committee of the army, which shewed how the king having upon May fifth escaped from Oxford, under the notion of Mr. Ashburnham's servant, who only came along with him, was now among them at Newark. And hereupon the earl of Morton presently dispatched a messenger

for Ireland, to call home the marquis of Argyle; wherein royalists thought he was over busy.

The first thing which the general and his committee imposed upon the king, was to command his governor of Newark to surrender that town to general Pointz. Which being done, the Scots army, and the king therewith, was brought northward to Newcastle. And, for some days after their settling there, his majesty was courteously used; so that his friends had opportunity to speak privately with him; and of them, some suggested how, besides noblemen that had the charge in the army, there were many officers of fortune that favoured him; so that if David Lesley could be gained, the whole army might have been made to own him; for old Lesley, since his flight at Marston moor, was in no esteem among them.

The king, in order to gain him, sent to him his own brother, and allowed him to give him assurance of the earldom of Orkney for a reward, and what more he would desire: Whereupon he took the matter to advise upon, promising ere long to give his answer. But, in the mean time, went from Edinburgh to Newcastle, the earls of Lanerk and Callender, and lord Balmerino, and having kissed the king's hand, two of them, viz. the first and last, moved the king presently to send back the earl of Callender to Edinburgh, with a letter to the committee of estates, expressing his resolutions to comply with his parliament; and to command Montrose, Hunt-
ley

ley, and Macdonald, and all that were in arms to disband; which the committee caused to be printed and published, with bells and bonfires. Callender being thus sent home, whom they were glad to be freed of at Newcastle, because he was reckoned to favour the king, Lanerk, Balmerino, and the rest, prevailed so far upon David Lesley, that he gave them assurance not to condescend until the marquis of Argyle's arrival.

The commission of the church was in the mean time careful to keep the ministry in subjection; and therefore, to terrify others, called before them, on May seventeenth, Dr. Strang, Mr. Edward Wright, Mr. William Wilkie, and divers others, whom they used very roughly.

The king, for making good his letter to the committee, dispatched Robert Ker to Montrose, Huntley, and Macdonald, for laying down their arms. The last two refused, but Montrose professed his readiness to obey his majesty's pleasure, so soon as conditions should be agreed upon, and warranted Robert Ker to make that report to the king. Likewise Montrose wrote privately, by another bearer, to his majesty, that if the command had been extorted from him, he would keep up his army, and hoped to force them, in whose hands he was, to do their duty to him; but if the command was spontaneous, so that his majesty esteemed it might be for his advantage, that he should obey, in that case he would do it upon any terms, though

never so hard for himself; and humbly besought his majesty to signify his secret will by the same bearer to him.

By this time the marquis of Argyle was returned from Ireland, and upon May twentieth, went to the king, and with him Crawford-Lindsay, and the earl of Morton; as also the chancellor returning from London, came that day to Newcastle, and all of them having kissed the king's hand, the chancellor, Argyle, Crawford-Lindsay and Balmerino, entered upon the main point with David Lesley, and, at length, obtained assurance, that he should not be tempted by the king's offers to engage for him, until Argyle went first to London, and returned again. And so leaving there, to hold David Lesley right, the chancellor, Crawford-Lindsay, and Balmerino; Argyle did presently begin his journey.

The general assembly met at Edinburgh upon June third. The first thing that occurred in it was a letter from the commissioners at London, wherein they were so ingenuous as to tell them, there was small hopes of settling Presbyterian discipline in England. Whereupon the leaders in the assembly put the best gloss they could on it, lest such as were disaffected to their way, should take advantage from it to argue against their proceedings. The next thing was the excommunication of George earl of Seaforth, for his adhering to Montrose. Then Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. Andrew Cant, and Mr. James Guthry, were appointed

pointed to repair to Newcastle to attend the king. Mr. David Dickson, and others of old standing, did not take it well to be passed by, and Mr. James Guthry to be pitched upon, who then had been a minister only for the space of four years. But the business was, Mr. James had already given such evidence of his bitterness against his majesty, as made the assembly to presume that he would encounter him more boldly and rudely than any other; and therefore he was preferred. The proceedings of the commission of the last assembly were approved, and a new commission, consisting of the same persons, with little alteration, was appointed for this year. Such ministers as were proceeded against for their disaffection to the cause, were remitted to this new commission. As also the laird of Halyburton, in the Merse, having given in a bill, complaining of Mr. James Guthry minister of Lauder, Mr. James Simpson minister of Sproustoun, and their adherents, for keeping Brownistical conventicles, he could not obtain so much equity as once to get his bill read in public, but the same was referred to the commission also. So the assembly rose upon June eleventh.

By this time Robert Ker, who had carried the former message, returned from his majesty to Montrose, requiring him, without more delay, to lay down his arms. And, besides, Montrose received, by another bearer, a secret letter from his majesty, wherein he wrote, that in case he should not presently

lay down his arms, they would make it a pretext for undoing him; and therefore besought him most earnestly to do it. Whereunto Montrose condescended; and so Middleton, commander in chief of the forces that opposed him, having the conditions to intimate, there was first betwixt Montrose and him a cessation of arms agreed upon, and afterwards upon July twenty-second, they settled all things; as also they two met together in a haugh by the water of Ilay, and conferred for the space of two hours, there being none near them but one man for each of them, to hold his horse.

The conditions were, the marquis of Montrose, Lodovick earl of Crawford, and Sir John Urry, to be secluded from all pardon or favour, except safe transportation beyond sea, and they to embark before the last of August, the estates affording them a vessel: Gorthy being forefaulted, his person to be restored, but his estate excepted, because already disposed of to Balcarras; the rest, as well forfeited as not forfeited, to have their lives and fortunes safe, and to be in all things as before their engaging.

The commission of the church meeting immediately after, disallowed this agreement, as contrary to the covenant, and petitioned the committee of estates to reverse it. Likewise they themselves went on in an ecclesiastical way, and upon July twenty-seventh excommunicated the earl of Airly, Gorthy, Inchbraky, Macdonald, Stuart the adjutant, the

the tutor of Strowan, and John Stuart of Shireglafs, bailie of Athol. Notwithstanding which, Middleton adhered to the conditions, and so upon the last of July the marquis of Montrose having drawn his army to a rendezvous at Rattray, after a long oration to them, disbanded them all. The Irish, and with them Lodovick earl of Crawford, went westward towards Argyle, there to embark for Ireland, whence Crawford went straight to Spain, to crave arrears due to him by that king. The earl of Airly, and all the Scots, retired to their own homes: And Montrose himself, and Urry, to Old Montrose, his principal dwelling-house, to prepare for the sea; where, after some days abode, they fell, by providence, upon a ship, which transported them safe to Norway: And from thence they went to Holland, and afterwards to France, to wait upon the queen.

Before this time Argyle had done the business, for which he went to London, having the better success, because of duke Hamilton's being there to concur with him; for, long ere now, the duke had left Pendennis, the place of his confinement, and was actually joined to the Scots commissioners at London. So they having communicated to their friends in the parliament of England, how necessary it was to oblige David Lesley, for keeping the Scots army fixed, and that in regard of the offers the king had made him, a small thing would not do it; therefore it was re-

solved presently to send him such a present as might undoubtedly gain him: Which being performed, he would afterwards hear no more of owning the king, whereby all his majesty's friends in the army were discouraged, and so nothing was attempted for him. The earl of Morton, who, before the rebellion, had gotten from him his life-rent of Orkney, now obtained an hereditary right to it. As also Crawford-Lindsay had the treasurer's place settled upon him, which formerly, without his majesty's allowance, he had possessed himself of by the parliament's grant: For now his majesty was reduced to such a posture, that he must grant whatever they pleased to demand.

Duke Hamilton, the marquis of Argyle, Lauderdale, and the rest of the Scots commissioners, having often met with a committee of the English parliament, for advising what was next to be done in reference to the king; the result was, once more to send propositions to him, and those being accorded upon, the parliament nominated the earls of Pembroke and Suffolk, Sir Walter Earle, and Sir John Hippesly, Robert Goodwin, and Luke Robinson, to repair to Newcastle, and present them to his majesty.

Duke Hamilton was the first that informed his majesty thereof, who arriving at Newcastle, July seventeenth, did presently kiss the king's hand; at which instant of time, the day having till then been fair and pleasant, there began a terrible thunder, with lightning

ning and rain, which continued extraordinary all the night. And upon the twenty-fourth, came the marquis of Argyle, and as he kissed the king's hand, just the like thunder, lightning and rain, as had been the other day, began and continued all the night also. Albeit there was nothing miraculous in those sudden and unexpected changes of weather; yet, in regard the same came without any preceding appearance, and happened precisely at the very moment of time, wherein those two kissed his majesty's hand, many, who were no astronomers, made their observations thereupon.

Upon the twenty-fifth arrived the English commissioners, and presented to his majesty the propositions, entreating a speedy answer thereto, in regard their instructions allowed them but ten days stay in that place. The king having considered the propositions at length, answered. "That unto many of them he should gladly accord, for peace sake, but amongst them there were some intermixed, whereunto he could not assent, unless he would un-king himself." The propositions came hither in print, dated at Westminster, July eleventh, 1646, whereof I shall only insert those, against which his majesty was said to except most. I. It was craved, that the king should sign the league and covenant, approve of the assembly of divines, and the whole proceedings of both parliaments. II. That for the time to come, the parliament should chuse the officers of state,

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lords of council, chief judges, and barons of the exchequer. III. That the tower of London be in the city's power. IV. That all honours conferred by the king since May 1642, be declared void; and none who get honours hereafter, to sit in parliament without the consent of the parliament. The like for Scotland. V. That in England be excepted from pardon, princes Rupert and Maurice, earls of Derby, Bristol and Newcastle, lords Cottington, Digby, Hopton and Jermyn, with many knights and esquires more: And, in Scotland, the marquisses of Huntley and Montrose, Lodovick earl of Crawford, the earls of Nithsdale, Traquair, Carnwath and Airly, lords Gordon, Ogilby, Herreis and Rea, general Ruthven, general King, bishop Maxwell, the younger lairds of Drum and Gight, Sir Alexander Lesley of Auchintoul, colonel Cochran, Gorthy, and Macdonald. VI. That the reformation of England be settled by act of parliament, in such manner as both houses shall agree upon, after consultation had with the assembly of divines. VII. And concerning the militia, that the parliament for twenty years, from the first of July 1646, have the full and sole power thereof, and neither the king nor his successors exercise any part thereof. The like for Scotland. And after the said twenty years, in all cases wherein the parliament shall declare the safety of the kingdom concerned, and shall thereupon pass bills for raising and employing forces by sea or land: That the
king

king and his successors shall be obliged to ratify the bills, or otherwise the same, wanting the royal assent, shall have the strength of acts of parliament, and be as valid to all intents and purposes, as if the royal assent had been given.

These were talked of to be the articles to which his majesty was most averse; so he moved to the commissioners, that they would be pleased to divide the articles, and accept satisfaction from him in those he could yield to; but they replied, "All or none." Whereupon he told them, "That since they were" "so instructed, it was not his fault that they" "parted without accommodation, but theirs," "who had appointed them to press such" "things whereunto he could not consent," "without wronging his inward peace, which" "was dearer to him than his life; and that" "therefore he behoved to dismiss them" "with a refusal, and take his hazard of" "what might follow;" adding only that of the poet,

Qui jacet in fundo, non habet unde cadat.

So that upon August second, the English commissioners removed from Newcastle homewards, and the next day the chancellor, marquis of Argyle, and earl of Dunfermline, offered to his majesty to go up, and treat with the parliament for a mitigation of the articles. Whether or not his majesty trusted them, and expected any good from them, is doubt-

doubtful: But the royalists, who well knew their ways, spared not to say, That their treating would end in a bargain.

Those being gone for London, duke Hamilton, Crawford-Lindsay, and Lanerk, parted next from his majesty, and came for Scotland. And immediately after, the general and his committee began to talk of guarding the king; which that it might be handsomely done, and upon some shew of reason, William Murray of the bed-chamber, furnished a pretext; suggesting privately to his majesty something concerning an escape, and offering to make his way, and have a ship in readiness to transport him. What entertainment his majesty gave to the motion, is uncertain; but, before the time came which William Murray had set, it was so divulged, that there was no other discourse throughout the army, but of William Murray's plot to carry away the king; and thereupon a guard of soldiers was presently planted at his chamber-door, both within and without; whereby his majesty was not only deprived of liberty, but also of quietness and retirement; and having an antipathy against tobacco, was much perplexed, by reason of their continual smoaking by him. William Murray therefore retired to London, where the Scots commissioners caused him to be imprisoned for a time; yet was that interpreted by malignants to be done in policy also, that the king hearing of his suffering for that attempt, might believe that his part had been honest towards

towards him; and, upon that account, trust him afterwards, whereby he might yet do them more service.

And as to the king's restraint, his majesty knowing that the general and his committee acted according as the great ones prescribed to them; therefore did he interpret it to have been resolved on betwixt them and the English commissioners before their parting from Newcastle, and committed to the general to be done when they were gone, which made him apprehensive of worse to follow. Yet duke Hamilton, at parting, having given him ample assurance of engaging the committee of estates to own him; and his majesty considering that he, having now the advantage of the chancellor, Argyle and Wariston's absence, was able to rule the committee at his pleasure, entertained thereupon some glimpse of hope. And indeed the stately way of the duke's entry wrought upon many of the simpler sort throughout the land, to expect some good by him: For his grace, with Crawford-Lindsay and Lanerk, having come together to the Beel, where his natural sister was lady, Crawford and Lanerk went immediately to Edinburgh, where they arrived upon August sixth; but the duke staid at Beel till the eleventh, on which day, being accompanied by his friends, amounting to 400 horse, his grace came to Edinburgh in pomp, and next day went to the committee, on foot, with the same attendance; where it was resolved to call, against the eighteenth day, the whole members

members of the committee of estates, and the lords of the secret council, to meet for debating, Whether to own the king, or call home the army, and leave him to the English.

Against that day they all convened, and so did the commission of the church also. And, after some debate upon the question, it was concluded, That, before they made any progress towards a resolution, first, Three of every estate should be sent to the king to deal with his majesty, to sign the English propositions. Those nominated for that employment were, duke Hamilton, the earls of Crawford-Lindsay, and Cassils, the lairds of Freeland, Garthland, and Brodie, Sir Alexander Wedderburn clerk of Dundee, Edward Edgar bailie of Edinburgh, and William Gledinning burghers of Kircudbright. All which went away upon September second.

The commission of the church sate still to attend their return, and in the mean time fell upon the laird of Halyburton's bill, remitted to them by the late assembly, concerning conventicles kept in the Merse by Mr. James Guthrie, Mr. James Simpson, and their adherents. But although many things were proved against them, which were very gross and offensive, yet the plurality of the commission voted them not censurable. From which divers sound and reverend ministers dissented, and urged that their dissent might be recorded in the commission book; which was done. The commission proceeded next

to the censure of ministers that had been referred to them, and having spent some hours in examination of witnesses, deferred the pronouncing of their sentences till another time; in regard the commissioners being now returned from the king, they behoved to attend greater affairs. Upon September sixteenth, the commissioners made their report unto the committee, which was, That his majesty refused to sign those propositions. Whereupon the committee sate divers days after upon the debate, and those that truly favoured the king, did not enforce their opinion by reasons taken from his interest (his enemies being so paughty, as that would have been esteemed malignancy in the highest degree) but from the account of reformation; that seeing the reason given in the year 1643, for carrying the army into England, was to pursue the reformation; how then could they withdraw the army, when that end was not yet obtained? The commission of the church hearing thereof, sent Mr. Robert Blair and Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Andrew Cant and Mr. James Guthry, to the committee of estates, to desire that they should no longer defer their resolution to call home the army upon the account of the reformation, because they could not press mens consciences. This was esteemed by royalists to be very contrary to the method they took in the year 1643, when they imposed so far upon mens consciences, as to constrain many, both high and low, to subscribe and swear
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the league and covenant much against their inclinations. However, the result of the debate was, That the determination of the question should be suspended, until the meeting of the parliament upon November third. And when this came to be noised throughout the land, none were so simple but that they saw the plot, how by that time the chancellor, Argyle and Wariston, would be returned, to carry the business against the king; and so they spared not to talk liberally, that duke Hamilton, and his brother Lanerk, who being able, in their absence, to have done in the committee whatsoever they pleased, had brought the matter to that pass.

And indeed it would appear, that the deferring of the business until the sitting of the parliament, had not been carried over the duke's belly and his brother's, but was consonant to some conclusion, which had been agreed unto at Newcastle, betwixt them and these at London; in regard the chancellor and Argyle, at their coming thither, did give assurance to the English parliament, that nothing would be resolved upon at home before the meeting of the Scots parliament in November. And, upon that account, the English parliament appointed a grand committee to treat with them upon the subject. And being met, the English pleaded, That they should have the sole power of disposing of the king, secluding the Scots from any interest therein; and they, upon the other part, urged, That seeing he was king of both nations,

tions, both should have equal power, especially because of the league and covenant, whereby both were tied to act jointly in all things. And that the honesty of the Scots commissioners might be publicly understood, three of the chancellor's speeches to that effect, having been spoken at several meetings in the Painted Chamber, were sent home, and printed at Edinburgh. However, the commissioners on both sides came at length nearer to the point, viz. That if the Scots should consent to retire their army, and leave the king to them, it would be requisite they should have money, which the other were willing to give. And so, that being made the state of the question, "What will you give us, and we will deliver him to you?" The chancellor was left to concur with Lauderdale and the other commissioners that resided, there, to drive the bargain to a price; and the marquis of Argyle and Wariston hastened home, to attend the sitting of the parliament.

In the way, Wariston got from the king the office of being his majesty's advocate, become vacant by the death of Sir Thomas Hope; as also the rent of the chapel-royal, vacant by the death of Mr. Henderson, had lately been bestowed upon Mr. Robert Blair. Nor was his majesty to be blamed for gratifying them, not being then in a capacity to refuse whatsoever they pressed. And, on the other part, although they pretended conscience for their acting against him, yet their consciences were so tractable, that they would
give

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give them leave to receive benefits from him. The only misfortune was, that Mr. Robert Douglas being displeased that Blair, and not himself, should catch that morsel, did afterwards look more sourly upon the king than before.

The parliament sate down upon November third. The first thing that occurred, was a letter from Middleton, for more forces to be sent him, to suppress the Gordons; and so Henry Barclay's regiment, with two more, were ordered to march northwards to him.

Afterwards Middleton's capitulation with Montrose was ratified, notwithstanding that, besides the commission of the church, the marquis of Argyle, and all his faction, opposed the same; so great was the duke's power at that time. And those lesser things being done, the royalists dealt with his grace, that he would be pleased to bring in the main business, concerning the owning of the king. And, in particular, the laird of Innerpeffer, who was a commissioner for Angus, having tried the pulse of the most part of the commissioners, and found them right for his majesty, went to the duke, and besought his grace, that, without delay, it might be gone about, assuring him that now it would carry for the king by thirty voices; whereas, if it were delayed, the Argilians and commissioners of the church intrigued so busily, as it might be feared, they would, in progress of time, draw away so many that the cause would be lost.

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The duke thanked him for his affection to the king, but, withal, entreated he would leave the timing of the business to him, who knew best to take an opportunity for it.

Likeas, the week following, Innerpeffer, finding that some of those who formerly had given him assurance, were already changed, sent Sir John Hamilton justice-clerk, to the duke again, to shew that by reason of mens inconstancy, now they could only carry it by 15 voices; and if it were delayed a week more, all hope would be gone; and therefore humbly besought his grace presently to fall to it; but the answer he sent by Sir John, was the same he had formerly given. And, indeed, it was the fifteenth of December before his grace made any mention of it; and then a grand committee being appointed to consider of the business, there were letters from the commissioners at London presented, shewing, that they were so far advanced in the way of agreeing with the parliament of England, as to receive 200,000 l. Sterling in hand; and public faith for as much more to be paid at terms, on condition they would rerire their army, and surrender the king without any conditions for him.

In regard the duke, on whom those in the parliament depended who had a mind to own the king, lingered to table the business, until those letters came; they collected, that notwithstanding his professions to the contrary, he was in the same bottom with the rest; and therefore the most part of them resolved to
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comply, lest otherwise they should draw upon themselves the wrath of that faction; and, in the mean time, be able to do no good. And that the grand committee might go on the more unanimously, the commission of the church published a warning, tending to keep in with the parliament of England, and not to own the king. After which the committee's opinion to the parliament was, That yet once more, two of every estate should be sent to the king, for requiring him to sign the propositions, with certification, that if he refused, they would retire their army, and leave him to the English, which the parliament assented to: And thereupon nominated to go to his majesty, with that commission, the earl of Lothian and lord Balcarras, the lairds of Garthland and Freeland, Edward Edgar, and William Glendinning, who all went away upon December twenty-ninth.

At this dispatch the duke, and his brother Lanerk, spake a little against the tenor of the commission, as being too peremptory, but were not contentious about it. And the marquis of Argyle, and his followers, who were accustomed to dispense with them to make a stir in the beginning of every business, seeing in the end they suffered the resolution to go their way, took little notice of it. Yea, the commissioners of the church, who were worse to satisfy, took no exceptions against them. In token whereof, without any recommendation thereanent from the general assembly, they did, at their desire, relax, from the sentence

tence of excommunication, the earl of Seaforth and lord Ogilby, two whom the marquis of Argyle held for his greatest enemies, and upon that account did his utmost, that they might not obtain that favour.

1647.

IN the first week of January came the last advertisement from the commissioners at London, That now they had perfectly agreed with the parliament of England to receive the money above-mentioned; and to retire their army, and leave the king to them, without any conditions for him, or in relation to our interest in him; as the act of the English parliament thereanent did bear, which they also sent hither, and required a present answer. Hereupon the matter was again debated in parliament, until the return of the commissioners from Newcastle, with his majesty's last refusal. And afterwards, upon January sixteenth, by the voice of the house, it was concluded, that according to the agreement of the commissioners above, the army should retire, and the king be left to the English, without any conditions for him, or our interest in him.

There were only for the negative, of the nobility, duke Hamilton, and his brother Lanerk, with the earls of Kinghorn and Tullibardine, and the lords Spynzie and Elibank; of the gentry, Halkerton, Innerpeffer, Monargan

nargan and Carden; and of the commissioners of the burghs, those of Forfar, Taine in Ross, and Brechin. Neither did duke Hamilton, and his brother Lanerk, save their credit, as to the point of loyalty, by their voices, in regard all their friends and followers went the other way; such as, chiefly, the earl of Crawford-Lindsay, president of the parliament, the earls of Cassils, Glencairn and Eglinton, the lords Lour, afterward earl of Eathie, Bargenny and Cochran, Sir James Lockhart of Lee, Sir John Hamilton of Beel, and others.

The guilt and stain due to the act, should not, with reason, be imputed to the generality of the Scots nation, in regard, First, Concerning the nobility, that whosoever shall be at the pains to compare the list of Scots noblemen, with the Sederunt of parliament, will find that the third part of the nobility was not present, very many having been secluded for their known affection to the king, and others upon other pretexts, and, possibly, some who would have been admitted, did, on their own accord, withdraw, being, on the one part, resolved not to comply, and, on the other hand, loath by their dissent to offend the prevailing faction, lest they should encroach upon their fortunes.

And, for the gentry, burghs and commonalty throughout the land, Fife, and the western shires betwixt Hamilton and Galloway, being excepted, there were an hundred for one, all the kingdom over, that abhorred

horred it, and would never have instructed their commissioners that way: So that they alone have to answer to God for that deportment. Howbeit, those who sent them were so over-awed, that they durst not challenge them.

And as to the ministers, albeit they had been always careful to constitute the commissioners of the church so, that the plurality thereof should run their way, yet was there found some who, all along in their debates, exonerated themselves fairly; such as Mr. Andrew Ramsay, and Mr. William Colvil, ministers of Edinburgh, Mr. Andrew Fairfoul minister of Leith, Mr. Robert Knox minister of Kelso, Mr. Oliver Colt minister of Inveresk, Mr. David Drummond minister of Linlithgow, Mr. Henry Guthry minister of Stirling, and others: And as for the body of the ministry throughout the kingdom, the far greater part disallowed it; howbeit, lothness to be deprived of their function and livelihood, restrained them from giving a testimony.

The act of parliament being quickly sent to the commissioners at London, the English parliament did, without delay, deliver at Newcastle the sum of 200,000 l. Sterling to the Scots commissary-general; whereupon followed the delivering up the king to them, which was upon Thursday January twenty-eighth, at nine o'clock; and immediately after the Scots army marched thence, and came homeward: The earl of Pembroke, who had received the king, staid with him there until February third, and then, according to his

his orders, carried him away to Holmby-house, where the parliament of England meant he should remain.

While the Scots army was on their way homeward, the parliament concluded, that after their arrival the most part of them should be disbanded, and only a new model to be kept of 6000 foot, and 1200 horse, to be commanded as follows. Rout-masters, the general, lieutenant-general, major-general, Sir John Brown, Robert Montgomery, the laird of Adie, Lockart younger of Lee, Thornton, Ludquharn, Mungo Murray, Craig of Riccarton, Henry Barclay, and colonel Frazer. Colonels of foot, Argyle, Ardkinglas, Sir Alexander Hamilton*, colonel Scot, Pitscotty and Hepburn. Lieutenant-colonels, Argyle's to stand, Ardkinglas's to stand, and David Wemyss, John Roch, John Innes, and John Halden. Majors of Foot, Argyle's to stand, Ardkinglas's to stand, and Touers, Meldrum, Agnew and Blair.

This disbanding was not only talked of by sycophants, whereof they had no scarcity, but also by ministers from their pulpits, as an act of great love to their country, done for the ease thereof; whereas it was well enough known they did it only for their own security, to get such of the army, both officers and soldiers, disbanded, as were tainted with what they called malignancy, and none kept up

* This Gentleman was a brother of the earl of *Haddington*, and is commonly known by the name of *Dear Sandy Hamilton*.

up but those of whom they might be confident, that whatsoever they attempted, they would go along with it.

So soon as the army arrived, there being three months pay delivered to each soldier, they did all peaceably disband, except those of the new model. Soon after David Lesley, with a party of this model, was sent to the north, there to join with Middleton, for suppressing the Gordons, who yet kept up in arms; and the remaining part was ordered to stay in the heart of the kingdom, to guard the parliament, and to be a terror to those throughout the land, that groaned for the king.

The earl of Morton obtained in parliament a ratification of the hereditary right of Orkney. As also of the English money, the parliament appointed to the marquis of Argyle, for himself, 30,000 l. Sterling, and for his friends 15,000 l. Sterling; and for his common people, the commissioners of the church appointed all the ministers throughout the kingdom to collect a voluntary contribution, and to deliver the same to James Stuart in Edinburgh, and George Porterfield in Glasgow, who were made receivers thereof. The next week the parliament ordered 3000 l. Sterling to be given to Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, for a reward of his service. And towards the close of the parliament, it was appointed by authority thereof, that duke Hamilton should have 30,000 l. Sterling allowed him for his losses in the good cause, e-

specially when Montrose lay at Bothwel. Nor was it doubted, but that ministers were also rewarded, yet the same was so conveyed, that the proportions came not to be publicly known; only it was observed, that afterwards they lived very sumptuously, and divers of them became very rich, such as Mr. Dickson, Blair, Cant, and others. At last the parliament nominated a grand committee of twenty for every estate, with ample power to rule, until the next parliament, which was appointed to sit in March 1648. And so upon March twenty-seventh this first triennial parliament rose.

In the beginning of April came certainty of David Lesley's success in the north, how the garrisons of Wardes and Strathbogie had both surrendered to him, and that thereupon he had presently caused such Irish and deserters as he found therein to be hanged, giving quarter to the rest. And that thereafter, the marquis of Huntley, whose forces had deserted him, and were retired to corners, till they might capitulate for their lives, and some few gentlemen that adhered to him, were forced to flee to Lochaber for shelter, and from thence wrote to David Lesley to intercede with the committee of estates for liberty to them to remove out of the kingdom; which was refused.

Then Middleton, with his forces, being appointed to remain in the north, for preventing new insurrections, David Lesley, and his army, were ordered south, that they might
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be employed against Macdonald, who yet continued in arms in the marquis of Argyle's country. For which end, David Lesley quartered his army in Strathallan, keeping his head-quarters in Dunblain, until the middle of May, at which time the marquis, having adjourned the committee of estates, came to Dunblain to guide the way to David Lesley and his army: And having begun their march upon May seventeenth, arrived at Inverary upon the twenty-first. From whence, upon the twenty-fourth, they advanced to Kintyre, where Macdonald was; his strength was reckoned to be 1400 foot, and two troops of horse. Macdonald skirmished with them upon the twenty-fifth, from morning till night, but the next day himself, and his Irish, having boats in readiness, fled to the isles, and from thence to Ireland.

The country people, whom he had constrained to join him, submitted upon quarter given them by David Lesley: But, having surrendered their arms, the marquis and a bloody preacher, Mr. John Nevoy, prevailed with him to break his word; and so the army was let loose upon them, and killed them all without mercy; whereat David Lesley seemed to have some inward check: For, while the marquis and he, with Mr. Nevoy, were walking over the ancles in blood, he turned about, and said, "Now, Mr. John, have you not once gotten your fill of blood?" This was reported by many that heard it.

After this, they transported their army to Ilay, for reducing that island, and especially a strong castle therein, called Duniveg, where Macdonald had planted a garrison. And that being done, they turned homeward; but, before their arrival, had intelligence from England, that upon June fourth, cornet Joyce, with 1000 horse, by Fairfax and Cromwell's orders, without the allowance of the parliament, had come to Holmby-house, and carried the king away: Whom, afterwards Fairfax and Cromwell caused for a long time to march to and fro with them at the head of their army; and after that settled him at Hampton-court, keeping their strong guards about him, whereby he had no more freedom than formerly at Holmby.

Whereunto this might tend, was hard to prognosticate: Nevertheless, the committee of estates, and commission of the church, found themselves concerned to meet, and consider what was incumbent upon them on this emergent: And being, upon June twenty-second, assembled, they did presently adjourn till July, that they might get farther intelligence.

And on July seventeenth arrived from London Mr. George Winram, who told them,
 1. That the army's power encreased. 2. That liberty of conscience was thought to be aimed at by them, with an universal toleration.
 3. That general Pointz, who formerly served under the parliament, was, by their orders, without the parliament's knowledge, taken,

ken, and made prisoner in Pontefract-castle. And, 4. That upon July twelfth, the army had sent to the parliament and city propositions of an odd strain.

What these propositions might be, was not well understood, until that at the end of July the Scots commissioners, residing at London, gave an account, that upon the receipt of those proposals, the city of London, with the apprentices and watermen, did all join in a new bond for the ends of the covenant, and presented the same to the parliament.

The first day whereon they appeared, the parliament condemned the bond, and forbid them to own it under pain of treason; but they coming again the next day in greater numbers, and more tumultuously, the parliament retracted their former sentence, and approved what they had done.

Whereof Fairfax and Cromwell being advertised by the sectarian party in the house, with which they then complied, they drew the army towards London, and after some treaty, wherein Mr. Marshall was the chief actor, who, at his being here in the year 1643, professed to be a Presbyterian, but now had wheeled about, the city submitted to the army, and Fairfax and Cromwell, at the head thereof, marched through the same, having the tower, the militia of the city, and all delivered to them. This rising at London put our great ones to such a nonplus, that they knew not what to do or say; and therefore

resolved to be quiet, until the design thereof should be better understood.

So the general assembly sate down at Edinburgh upon August third, and rose again September first. The chief things done in it were, A Confession of Faith was approved; and a Directory for family-worship; and a national thanksgiving appointed to be celebrated the last sabbath of September, for David Lesley's success in chasing away Macdonald. The commission of the preceding assembly was approved, with thanks to them for their fidelity and diligence; and a new commission was appointed for the year following, whereunto all the particular affairs that came before the assembly, were referred.

The committee of estates sate in the mean time, and having gotten from Lauderdale, and the rest of the commissioners that resided in London, farther intelligence, they concluded to send up the chancellor, and the earl of Lanerk, to act in conjunction with them for the interest of this nation. And thereafter the marquis of Argyle went home to settle his country, and upon September twenty-first, caused colonel Macgillespick, Alexander Macdonald's father, to be hanged.

The country being sore oppressed with David Lesley's army, took the advantage of Argyle's absence to supplicate the committee of estates for disbanding the same, expecting that the Hamiltons, who always professed friendship to the royalists, would now, when
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he was not there to make opposition, have done it. But the answer was, An act ordering the army to disband upon October twentieth, provided the committee of estates, which presently was adjourned till October twelfth, should then think it expedient. When the supplicants found this was all they had obtained, they called it a lick of cream, and said, "It was like the rest of Hamilton's doings;" seeing it might be presumed, that before that time the marquis of Argyle would be returned to crush it.

In the mean while, the chancellor, and earl of Lanerk, went away for London, as also the earl of Callender went up on his own account, but had no commission. Callender returned long before the rest, having gotten from the king sundry grants, and among the rest the office of sheriff of Stirling-shire, which had belonged by inheritance to the house of Mar, until the king would needs have the earl of Mar to resign the same into his hands; and, in recompence thereof, and for satisfaction of some debts owing by his majesty to him, gave him a lease of the lordship of Stirling for certain years: Which nevertheless the marquis of Argyle hindered passing the seals; such was his malice against the noble house of Mar, for the loyalty thereof, notwithstanding the many ways he was related thereto.

So soon as the chancellor and Lanerk arrived at London, and, with the rest, had conferred with their correspondents in the par-

liament upon the state of affairs, one Mr. Rowe was sent down from the parliament to our committee of estates, to urge, that the Scots army might be brought home from Ireland, offering only, instead of all their arrears, a fortnight's pay for their transportation. This was the only affair which he publicly professed he was intrusted with; but it was generally believed, that he brought other messages, which the committee thought not fit to divulge.

In the beginning of October, the marquis of Argyle returned to Edinburgh, to attend the sitting of the committee upon the twelfth thereof; at which time the duke, and his adherents, suffered him to carry the keeping up of David Lesley's army, until the parliament, which was not to sit before March 1648, should determine about it: Whereunto the commissioners of the general assembly were very helpful, having, beside their private trafficking, emitted a declaration for that end. The army being now out of fear to be disbanded, became more rude than before: For, notwithstanding that monthly maintenance which was exacted throughout the land for the entertainment thereof, and that so unmercifully, that every collector enriched himself thereby, yet the soldiers were ever suffered to take free quarters amongst all that were supposed to favour the king; and not only so, but farther, to do them all the harm they could: For there was no more to be done, but

but once to give them the name of Malig-
nants, and then it was piety to plunder them.

And, besides this, another course, which
had formerly been devised against them, was
prosecuted with more and more severity;
which was, to call before the committee of
estates such and such men, and then ordain
them to lend money to the public, whether
they had it or no, some 100 l. some 200 l.
Sterling, and some more, as the committee
was pleased to determine: And if any scrup-
pled to obey, the proportion was presently
doubled upon them; or, if any professed to
want money, some or other of the collectors
would offer to lend them money upon bond,
which against the next term would make him
liable to pay the sum, with interest: And if
any did obstinately stand out, he was shut up
in prison till he submitted.

They gloried so much in this device, that
they used to contend among themselves, whe-
ther the quickness of the invention should be
ascribed to the committee of estates, or to
the commission of the church; it being, said
they, the most excellent way that could be
thought on for reaching heart-malignants, as
they called them who disallowed their course,
and yet walked so reservedly, that they could
find no pretexts in a legal way, whereby they
could fine or forefault them. And, indeed,
by this way they drew from honest people
such sums, as did sufficiently impoverish them,
and made the committee abundantly able
both to gratify sycophants that depended
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upon them, and daily to corrupt more and more.

Yet notwithstanding these public methods, they neglected not to use more private means; among which this was one: Archibald lord Napier, a nobleman, for true worth and loyalty inferior to none in the land, having in the year 1645, died in his majesty's service at Fancastle in Athol, the committee resolved to raise his bones, and pass a sentence of forefaulture thereupon; and, for that end, letters were raised, and ordained to be executed at the pier and shore of Leith against Archibald lord Napier his son, then under exile for his loyalty, to appear upon 60 days warning, and to hear and see the same done. And when his friends were startled at the noise of it, and made inquiry, what was meant by it, they found it was only to draw money from the present lord Napier, for the use of some sycophants that expected it; and so they advanced 5000 merks to that end, and thereupon the intended forefaulture was discharged.

This was not the first of the lord Napier's money they had gotten; for after Montrose's removal, when he came home to settle his affairs, that he might also go abroad, the committee constrained him to pay them 2000 l. Sterling, under the name of forefaultures, because his late noble father and he had, in the year 1645, broken from their confinements, and joined Montrose, and that with such rigour, that albeit they owed him 8000 merks for pro-

provisions they had bought of his father, towards the subsistence of the army in the year 1640, yet could he not obtain that the same should be allowed in part of payment, but they made him deliver the said sum of 2000 l. Sterling intirely, without any satisfaction at all for the victuals.

Whilst thus they ruled in an arbitrary way, they were pleased to make themselves merry with a spectacle, which was very tragical; the lairds of Newton-Gordon, and Harthill the younger, being taken prisoners by Middleton, had been sent to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, whom the committee condemned to die; and albeit before the execution of the sentence, their friends had procured and brought home for them the king's remission, the same was not regarded, but notwithstanding thereof, they were both beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh, for no other cause, so much as alledged, but their loyalty, having been in the king's service, first under Montrose, and afterwards under Huntley. Harthill suffered upon October twenty-sixth, and the other shortly after him.

Thereafter no new thing occurred, until November twentieth, at which time there came from the chancellor, Lanerk, Lauderdale, and the rest of the residentiaries at London, an advertisement concerning the king's escape from Hampton-court; whereof the occasion was said to be a letter sent him from some who pretended to be his friends, intimating, That the independents intended to murder

der him; and therefore advised him to fly to the Isle of Wight for safety. Whereupon his majesty, having left upon his table a letter for the parliament, shewing the reason of his removal, with one to colonel Whaley, and another to the captain of the guards, went away at night, and with him Sir John Berkeley, captain Leg, and Mr. Ashburnham, and rode straight towards the isle, from whence colonel Hammond governor thereof, had come ashore to attend his arrival in that place, and presently received him, and carried him to Carisbrook-castle, within that isle.

Upon the notice thereof, the committee of estates, and commission of the church, did meet very solemnly December second, where the first occurrence was an account from Middleton, that now the marquis of Huntley was his prisoner; having been taken by colonel Menzies in Strathnaver, where he lurked at that time.

The committee ordered Middleton to send him, without delay, to Edinburgh; where, upon December twenty-fourth, he arrived, and the troopers that brought him up, having, at the entry of the town, delivered him to the magistrates, he was by them guarded to the tolbooth. And upon December twenty-first, the question was debated in the committee, Whether he should be presently executed, or reprieved till the meeting of the parliament: The marquis of Argyle, being his brother-in-law, yet his great enemy, withdrew when it was put to the vote; but all of
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his faction were for present execution; and so was the commission of the church also, by their most earnest solicitations; nevertheless, it was carried, and that only by one voice, that his life should be spared until the parliament. Which was the rather thus carried, in regard the news they received in the mean time from the commissioners at London, touched them so deeply, that they valued the less what should be determined concerning him.

For now they were certified, that the parliament of England had resolved to admit of a personal treaty with the king; his majesty first condescending to four articles, viz. 1. To quit the militia for ever. 2. That the parliament should adjourn themselves as they pleased. 3. That no noblemen created by him since his withdrawing himself from the parliament, should sit in the house of peers, until the parliament had ratified their creation. And, 4. That he should disclaim all edicts, proclamations, &c. emitted against the parliament. Upon this occasion, the chancellor, Lanerk, Lauderdale, and the rest of the commissioners, began to act in a new way; for, whereas formerly it had been their custom to quarrel with the king for not granting enough to his parliament; now they alledged, that if he should sign those articles, he would thereby grant too much, nay, more than was either fit or just.

Whereupon, at first, when those four articles were drawn up by the parliament, to be

be sent to his majesty, they entered their dissent before the parliament, and emitted a declaration against the same; which being sent hither to the committee of estates, was by them approved, and reprinted at Edinburgh, whereby it might come to the knowledge of the lieges; as also there was a letter of thanksgiving sent to them, wherein it was desired they would continue constant.

And when the parliament's commissioners went to the Isle of Wight, to present unto the king those preparatory propositions, and desire that his majesty would please to sign the same, the Scots commissioners went thither also, and, in his majesty's presence, protested against his doing thereof; which protestation being by them sent home to the committee of estates, was mightily approved.

The king being thus in a strait betwixt two, did take the matter into consideration for some time; and, in the mean time, the chancellor, Lauderdale, and Lanerk, did, with the profession of much affection to him, insinuate, that rather than his majesty should condescend to those articles, it were better for him to make some farther steps, in giving Scotland some contentment anent the reformation; which, if his majesty should do, they would undertake that the whole kingdom should engage for his restoration.

Whereupon the king and they entered upon a treaty concerning such concessions as might satisfy the Scots nation.

1648.

ON the fifteenth of January, his majesty and they accorded upon certain articles, which they, in name of the kingdom of Scotland, acknowledged to be satisfactory; and thereupon did undertake that the kingdom should own his majesty, and take arms for his re-establishment. And when Mr. John Cheisslie, (who, being first Mr. Henderson's servant, had been by him preferred to be clerk to the commissioners) presented the paper to the king, which his majesty was to sign, the king promised him the first vacant place in the session, and, in the mean time, knighted him, and made him master of requests, in the room of an old faithful servant, Sir James Galloway, who had lately been advanced to the title of lord Dunkeld.

The king having thus transacted with the Scots, called for the English commissioners, and, after a short discourse, dismissed them with a negative answer, which they, at their return to Westminster, having reported, the parliament thereupon passed an act, that no man thereafter should make any application to him as king of England, under pain of treason, and withal sent an order to the governor of the Isle of Wight, to shut him up in close prison; which he obeyed.

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When the report of these things came home, true royalists were confounded with grief, that his majesty had not rather closed with the parliament of England upon any terms, than again to cast himself upon the Scots, of whom late experience might have taught him what to expect. But the committee of estates, and commission of the church were over-joyed, that now the king and the English were finally parted, and the game brought into their hands again. The return of the commissioners was the next thing wished for, touching which they were soon satisfied, for they having no more to do at London, hastened home. Upon January twenty-seventh arrived Sir John Cheisslie, Hugh Kennedy, and Mr. Robert Barclay; and upon February ninth came the rest, together with two of the house of commons, commissioned from the parliament of England, and with them Mr. Marshall the preacher, he who, being here four years ago, professed to be a Presbyterian, but since turned Independent. Those gave an account, that the earls of Nottingham and Stanford were also coming from the house of peers, and with them Mr. Herle.

The committee of estates, and commission of the church, having both sat down before the commissioners arrival to attend the same; the chancellor did, upon the next day after their coming, which was February tenth, make a speech before the committee, and reported their proceedings in England, and promised

promised to add to his discourse upon Tuesday the fifteenth, excusing his brevity at that time, by reason of his sickness. Upon the fifteenth the chancellor prosecuted his discourse, and after him Lauderdale spoke abundantly, which he might well do, having from the year 1643, till that time, resided constantly at London, with a chief hand in the management of the business.

The commission of the church was the first that ministred occasion to the people to doubt, that ere long the king might have cause to repent the way he had taken; for his majesty's concessions being read and considered, the prime ministers began presently to express their dissatisfaction therewith.

Whereupon the commission sent Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Robert Blair, and some others, to the committee of estates, with a desire, that there might still be a correspondence betwixt the commission of the church, and committee of estates, as formerly, whereby religion might sustain no prejudice. The message was well received by the committee of estates; and so much the better, because the marquis of Argyle backed it, who was now beginning to whisper against the transactions in the Isle of Wight. So the committee of estates appointed a committee, wherewith the commission of the church might correspond, to consider of the danger of religion, and of the monarchy.

The members of this committee were to be three of every estate joined to the committee.

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missioners, who the year past had been commissioned to reside at London: So of the nobility were chosen Duke Hamilton, the earls of Lanerk and Callender; for the chancellor and Argyle were of the number of the aforesaid commissioners, and therefore needed not to be named; and the reason why Lanerk was named, was because tho' of late he happened to be with the rest of them at the Isle of Wight, yet was he not in the list with those who some years ago had been chosen to reside constantly at London: And those of the gentry were Dury, Lee and Tofts: And, for the burghs, Archibald Sydeserf, with the commissioners of Dundee and St. Andrews.

Upon Saturday the nineteenth came to Edinburgh from the house of Peers, the earl of Nottingham, and with him Mr. Herle, having left the earl of Stanford at Berwick, who was said to march the more slowly, by reason of the money he brought along with him. Mr. Herle preached in the great church of Edinburgh, upon Sunday the twenty-seventh, and was observd not to pray for the king.

The commission of the church ordained, that none should employ Mr. Marshall to preach, it being well known how active he was become for the sectaries; as also because it passed current, how he had in his way hither, preached at York upon Ezekiel xxi. ver. 25, 26, 27. applying those words most wickedly to our king. Yet nevertheless Mr. George Gillespy employed him to preach

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in the great church upon March twenty-fifth, and was not censured for it.

The commission of the church became more and more averse from approving the transactions with his majesty at the Isle of Wight; and, at length, voted his majesty's concessions, which the commissioners had then, in the name of the whole kingdom, accepted as satisfactory, not to be satisfactory, yea, to be destructive of the covenant, and set forth a declaration to that purpose; all which was carried in the commission by a plurality of voices, there being in the mean time divers reverend ministers, who dissented, and pressed that their dissent might be recorded, viz. Those who formerly owned his majesty, and some others also. Upon the notice of this declaration, the committee of estates pretended to be much displeased, but nothing followed thereupon.

The parliament met on Thursday March second, where the chancellor was elected president thereof. The first debate that occurred in it, concerned commissioners; for it fell out, that in some shires there were double elections, which came to pass upon this occasion: The Argilians having tampered throughout the shires, that commissioners might be sent, who would run their way; it fell out in some shires, that where the major part had elected one that favoured the king, the other sort pitched upon another of a contrary temper, and commissioned him. So, in Clackmannan-shire, the major part chose Mr. Robert

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bert Meldrum of Tillibodie, a depender upon the Hamiltons; but a few who depended upon the marquis of Argyle, chose Sir Charles Erskine of Alva. Likewise in Perth-shire, the major part elected the lairds of Balthayoke and Inchmartine, but the other faction chose Adie and Freeland. The parliament confirmed the commission of Mr. Robert Meldrum, with Inchmartine and Balthayoke, and rejected Sir Charles Erskine, with Adie and Freeland: And also rejected the commissions of the lairds Wedderburn, Craigivar and Tofts, as having been carried on by tumult and faction,

On March eighth arrived the earl of Stanford from Berwick, with the money; which was afterwards so privately dispersed, that it came not to be publicly known; and therefore I shall aver no more concerning it; but that I am certain no true royalist had any share in it.

The commission of the church presented to the parliament, by Mr. Douglas, Mr. Dickson, Blair, Cant, Livingstone, and Gillespie, with the laird of Dundas, Sir James Stuart, and Mr. George Winram, as ruling elders, their declaration against the king's concessions. The parliament gave it to the several bodies to be considered of, commanding them in the mean time not to publish it, until the parliament should be farther advised: Notwithstanding which, the commission of the church caused it to be printed upon March twelfth; after which the parliament desired it might
not

not be spread, until farther advertisement; but, nevertheless, upon Monday fourteenth, the commission made an act for reading it in all the kirks of the kingdom, and presently sent it away to the several presbyteries for that effect.

And for as much as the parliament dispensed with these things, the jealousy which royalists had always entertained of the duke and his brother Lanerk, was much encreased, that they and the marquis of Argyle were not so opposite in their designs, as they professed. For remedy whereof, and that it might appear to the world, that there was a real division amongst them, nothing less must serve the turn, than a combat betwixt the marquis of Argyle, and the earl of Crawford-Lindsay, to be fought on Monday, March twenty-first, at five of the clock in the morning, in the links of Stonyhill, major Innes being Argyle's second, and Lanerk Crawford's: They kept the appointment, and were an hour upon the place before any redders came; so that they had leisure enough to have fought, if they had been willing. However, the intention of it gave such offence to the commission of the church, that the marquis of Argyle was obliged to make his repentance before them, because he had such an hostile mind; and Crawford was desired to do the like, but would not. This combat furnished sport for a time.

Upon the expectation which strangers had of this kingdom's engaging by this time, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Philip Musgrave,
Sir

Sir Thomas Glenham, and other English officers, came hither to offer their service, and shortly after an hundred more came into Peebles and Kelso, expecting to be employed; and lest they should be misconstrued, sent two of their number to represent the cause of their coming to the parliament. This appearance of strangers put life into honest men; whereupon it came to be mentioned in parliament, that some course might be taken in reference to the declaration of the commission of the church. The duke and his brother approved the motion, and proposed that a proclamation should be published against it; but suffered the same presently to be rejected. It was next moved, that a declaration should be emitted, but having once spoken of it, they never pressed it farther, whereby it vanished also, and so nothing was done at all.

Afterwards it was proposed in parliament, that six of every estate should be nominated to have the full power of determining in the great business: For which end every one of the three estates to chuse twelve of their order; which being reported to the parliament, the house out of each twelve should pitch upon six. And this motion was concluded by a vote of parliament, notwithstanding the marquis of Argyle, and all his faction, opposed it: So absolute was duke Hamilton's power, that he could carry what he pleased, many adhering to him upon interest of blood and friendship; and others conceiving him to be for the king. When the several bodies met

met apart, Argyle, and his adherents, refused to give their vote to the nomination of their twelve, but it was done without them. And when (the report being made of the three twelves) the parliament began out of each of them to pitch upon six, the marquis and his followers not only dissented, but also protested against it, and withal left the house. Those that joined with him in the protestation were, the earls of Cassils, Eglinton and Lothian; the lords Arburthnot, Torphichen, Burleigh, Balmerino and Couper; lairds of Scotsraig, Humbie and Wariston; and for burgesses, John Short of Stirling, George Porterfield of Glasgow, with some petty burghers in Fife and the West-country. The parliament, nevertheless, proceeded to the election of six out of every estate out of the twelves, viz. Of the nobility were, the duke, the marquis of Argyle, the earls of Crawford, Lanerk, Callender and Lauderdale; of the gentry, Innerpeffer, Collinton, Arniston, Lee, Humbie and Wariston; and of the boroughs, Archibald Sydeserf bailie of Edinburgh, Sir Alexander Wedderburn clerk of Dundee, Patrick Lesley of Aberdeen, George Bell of Glasgow, James Robertson of St. Andrews, and Thomas Macbirnie.

This being concluded, it was next motioned, that the marquis of Argyle, with those that had joined in the protestation, should be censured as their offence deserved; but the duke and his brother disallowed it, as inexpedient; so they were called in, and desired to
take

take their places again, without so much as one word of reproof for their separation.

Then did the commission of the church appear again, and express their dislike of the power given to that committee; whereupon the parliament did appoint some of that committee to confer with them about that business.

At the conference, the commission presented some articles of an oath, which they desired to be taken, viz.

An Oath of Association, for pursuing the Ends of the Covenant.

I. Concerning religion and the covenant, That except the king did first subscribe and swear to both covenants, it was not lawful for any to endeavour his restitution. II. That Popery and Prelacy be extirpated, as also Erastianism, and all other sects. III. No communication with malignants in any of the three kingdoms. IV. No negative voice to the king. V. That these articles be added to his majesty's coronation oath, and of all his successors. VI. And, lastly, That any that refuse this oath, be not capable of any charge, ecclesiastical or civil, nor to enjoy their own fortunes.

Those of the committee who treated with the commission rejected the oath, whereupon the commission gave up the conference for that time. Yet, upon March twenty-second, the commission gave in a new paper to the
parlia-

parliament, containing eight propositions, which they craved to be admitted; whereupon the parliament added two more of every estate to the former committee of eighteen, viz. the earls of Roxburgh and Traquair; the lairds of Innes and Garthland; John Kennedy, and Mr. John Hay of Elgin; making the committee, in the whole, to consist of twenty-four, and appointed them to set a time to treat with the ministers concerning their propositions. Having met, they did not accord; and so the ministers left off to treat more with the committee.

In the mean time arrived on March twentieth, at Leith, a pinnace, which set ashore Sir William Fleming. His errand was said to be, that the commissioners had, at the Isle of Wight, sent to the queen and prince some assurance of their resolution to engage this nation for the king, and now he was come from them to learn, what they might expect as to the performance thereof. The letters which he delivered were to the chancellor, duke Hamilton, Lauderdale and Lanerk. In few days after they dispatched him with their answers; and, to bear him company, William Murray of the bed-chamber, embarked with him; whose name was so odious among royalists, that they were sorry the prince should have such a man about him.

After long delay, at length, upon April eleventh, three things were voted, and concluded in parliament, 1. That they should demand the king to be brought from his pri-

son in the Isle of Wight, to London or thereabouts, in honour, freedom, and safety. 2. That they should require the English to disband their sectarian army. And, 3. That religion be established there, according to their covenant and treaties. Against all which voted the marquis of Argyle, the earl of Cassils, Sir Archibald Johnston, and but very few more; for divers, who in all things else were harmonious with them, differed from them upon this vote.

After this, the parliament went on to determine the breaches of the covenant by the English, that some might be sent up to demand reparation thereof. In the mean time the church continued very angry; so that from the several synods convened in April, came supplications to the parliament, that nothing might be done without the commission of the general assembly. As also general Lesley, David Lesley, and Hepburn, signed a supplication to that same effect; which gave occasion to a great many reformers to join in the contrary, and to supplicate that the parliament would go on, offering to venture their lives and fortunes in the cause.

In the third week of April, the commission of the church appeared again, and having regretted, that so little respect was had to the supplications of the synods, did themselves present to the parliament a new paper, which was remitted to the committee to consider of it. And, upon April twentieth, the parliament having

having framed a national declaration, voted and concluded the publishing thereof: In reference whereunto, one thing was observed, viz. That when Sir James Lockhart motioned, that it might be expressly in the declaration, that we should unite with none but such as took the covenant, the duke and his brother seemed angry with him; and would have it thus, that we should unite with none that took up arms to oppose the covenant; and yet presently they acquiesced, that it should be expressed in the terms wherein Sir James had moved it. The marquis of Argyle, and his adherents, renewed their dissent; and required the same to be recorded. Thereafter, in the last week of April, it was concluded by the parliament, that the kingdom should be put in a posture of war.

This had been done sooner, had there not been a division in judgment, not only amongst the members of parliament, but generally also among the royalists throughout the kingdom, concerning the chief command: For general Lesley, and David Lesley also, were against the engaging; and drew with them to that way, colonel Scot, colonel Ker and Hepburn; so that there came only two to be talked of in reference to the highest command; the one was duke Hamilton, whose friends contended, that it might be settled on him; the other was the earl of Callender: Very many were for it, that he should be the man, being more jealous of the duke, because of late emergents, viz. 1. His lingering so long

in his resolutions. 2. His comporting with the high carriage of the commissioners of the general assembly. And, 3. His vote against censuring the marquis of Argyle, and his adherents, for their protesting. Those things being added to their former grounds of prejudice against the duke, made that as yet they could not consent harmoniously about the business. However, the act of posture being passed, the parliament did, upon April twenty-eighth, dispatch lieutenant colonel Marshall to the parliament of England, with a remonstrance of their breaches, allowing him only to stay ten days at London, and then to return, whether he got any answer from the parliament or not. As also, Sir Marmaduke Langdale went away, and with a party of English horse, which joined him at the border, made himself master of Berwick; and Sir Philip Musgrave, at the same time, had Carlisle surrendered to him, the people in both towns complying willingly to admit them, whereby their towns might be useful to the Scots army.

And upon May third, the parliament voted, and concluded a levy of 30,000 foot, and 6000 horse; as also to call home major-general George Monro from Ireland, with his army, to join in the expedition, allowing them a month's pay in ready money, whereof a fortnight's pay before they embark, and the other at their landing, the lord Cochran, and the laird of Garthland, being appointed to go over for them. And the parliament, after the act of levy, made another, That
none

none should speak against the procedure of the parliament, under all highest pains. Yet did the marquis, and his adherents, presently speak against the same, and more proudly than before renew their dissent, and were not censured for it. And the commission of the church expressed a very extreme dislike, and solemnly protested against all that was resolved on, sending to their several presbyteries copies of their protestation, with a strict order to keep, on the last Sabbath in May, a public fast against that course. All which was represented in parliament; yet, such was the duke's clemency, and his brother's, that they would suffer nothing to be said to them, which made the jealousy which many had harboured against them, to encrease more and more.

Yet, upon May tenth, duke Hamilton was elected general of the army, and after him the earl of Callender, lieutenant-general both of horse and foot, Middleton lieutenant-general of horse, and Bailie lieutenant-general of foot; many of the colonels; and other officers as before: But one thing was thought strange, that albeit the marquis of Argyle, and his adherents, had, to their uttermost, opposed the act of levy; yet they were designed colonels in the shires where they lived. Likewise the parliament nominated a committee of war in every shire for promoting the levies: And, upon the eleventh of May, the parliament (having appointed the grand committee of twenty-four, to rule

in the mean time) adjourned itself till the first of June, whereby the noblemen, and others that had commissions, might retire home, and go about their levies: And, at their parting, were refreshed with good news; viz. 1. That the duke of York, who had been the parliament's prisoner, in the custody of the earl of Northumberland, was escaped, and now safely arrived beyond sea. And, 2. That in the north of England great numbers had joined Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir Philip Musgrave, whereby they were like to become a considerable army.

But the commission of the church continued highly displeased with the conclusion passed in parliament; in token whereof, so soon as the grand committee sat, they presented to them a refutation of the parliament's declaration; and afterwards sent the same to the several presbyteries, together with a strict order, that no minister should read from the pulpit the said declaration; nor in any sort comply in promoting levies, under pain of highest censure.

So soon as the parliament rose, the opposers of the levies went straight home, to employ themselves in obstructing the same: But the marquis of Argyle staid a day longer in Edinburgh, giving instructions to major Strachan, whom they sent up to Cromwell. His errand was at first kept close; but shortly after it broke out, how it was to desire Cromwell to send a party to Scotland, with which the opposers of the engagement might join for

for making a division. This was represented in the grand committee, as a matter to be taken notice of; but the duke slighted it, affirming to have certain intelligence, that the rising, near London, by the lords Capel, Goring, and others, gave Fairfax so much diversion; and the other in Wales, by Poyer, &c. the same to Cromwell; that there was no cause of fear from England; and so no censure was inflicted for that correspondence: And the duke, immediately after it was resolved, retired to Hamilton, to look after his private affairs, having appointed the grand committee to sit nevertheless in his absence.

The marquis of Argyle, so soon as Strachan was safely gone, went over to Fife, to deal with the gentry there, not only to stand out, but to be in a readiness to rise upon the other account, whenever the call should be given. And having engaged Fife, he went next to Stirling-shire, where he found not the like success. For none of the gentry in that shire complied with him, except the laird of Buchanan, and Sir William Bruce of Stane-house, with very few more, and those of the inferior sort. From thence, upon May twenty-first, the marquis removed to Dumbarton-shire, where he easily prevailed, in regard the people thereof lying under his feet, must always be at his devotion; and from thence he hasted to a meeting with the lord chancellor, the earls of Cassils and Eglinton, Mr. David Dickson, and some other ministers, which was held at Eglinton's house, upon Monday,

May twenty-ninth, and there having given them an account of the instructions he had given to major Strachan, and of the success he had in passing through the shires, they parted, and he went home to Argyle, to engage his own people and the isles.

By this time colonel Marshall was returned, whose report to the committee was, That the parliament of England said they would send their answer to their own commissioners, who resided here. Those were the earls of Nottingham and Stanford; for these whom the lower house had sent, viz. Mr. Ashhurst and Mr. Waller, had returned home in April, and with them Mr. Marshall.

The first report of disobedience to the levy, which the committee received, was from Glasgow; for remedy whereof, colonel William Urry, and colonel James Turner, who now had gotten Hepburn's regiment, were sent west to ly at Glasgow, until both city and country should give obedience. The people of Glasgow, being disaffected, used them so unkindly, that they were obliged to carry themselves more rudely than otherwise they would. Whereupon the people had that confidence, as to send two of their bailies to Edinburgh, to complain of them to the committee of estates, who, for undertaking such a commission, were imprisoned, and the rest of the magistrates that had sent them, cited to appear before the committee. This was done in the absence of the duke; and, by it, the people of Glasgow were so frightened, that they

they promised hearty obedience in putting out their levy, which nevertheless they did not perform.

The next occurrence was, that the wives of Edinburgh began to appear upon the street again, and to act as at the beginning, abusing the members of the committee upon the street; yea, upon May twenty-ninth, they assaulted their own provost so furiously, that he was forced to retire into his house for shelter, and for some days after kept within, and durst not appear.

Upon May thirty-first, the lords and other members of parliament returned, except the marquis of Argyle, the earls of Cassils and Eglinton, and some others of their stamp; and the duke entering at the West-port, rode through the town to Holyroodhouse, accompanied with 400 horse: And the next day, June first, the lords and gentry, having gone betimes to salute his grace, he chose to walk on foot with them to the parliament-house, where, in the way, some wives, who before had assaulted the provost, made bold to abuse the duke himself, and threw stones at him: Among whom the ringleader was one surnamed Kelty, who being searched for by the magistrates, hid herself, but her husband was imprisoned, till he should produce her.

The parliament being assembled, there appeared many ministers and gentlemen from Fife, and the western shires, to supplicate against the levy, whom Lothian, Balmerino, Burleigh, and Wariston, assisted. The sup-

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plications were referred to the grand committee of twenty-four; to the which, in regard of the absence of some, were added three more of every estate, viz. Of the nobility, Dunfermline, Balmerino, and Bargenny; of the gentry, Clerkinton, Manner, and Tillibodie; and of the burghs, James Lenton of St. Andrews, John Ouchterlony of Aberbrothock, and Alexander Strang for Forfar. The committee having considered those supplications, rejected them; and, upon June seventh, gave in to the commission of the church, by the earls of Crawford and Lauderdale, a declaration, which did no ways satisfy them; and therefore the next day, in their wrath, they removed Crawford out of their commission, wherein hitherto he had sat as a ruling elder, giving that for a chief reason for it, because he had not yet made his repentance for the intended combat betwixt him and the marquis of Argyll. Thereafter the commission of the kirk gave over any farther treating with the parliament, as also sent unto the several presbyteries, an act, ordaining all ministers to preach against the engagement, under pain of deposition: The parliament made an act to the contrary, but the most part of ministers obeyed the will of the commission, because they knew they were in earnest; but for the parliament they knew not so well what they meant. And indeed, when such as did not obey the commission, came afterwards to be prosecuted for it, they found little sympathy from the parliament-men.

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By this time, the colonels Urry, and Turner, sent word to the parliament, that those in the west country, who opposed the levy, were like to draw to a head; whereupon the earl of Callender and Middleton were appointed to haste westward with more forces. After which the parliament being certified, that, except in the west and Fife, the levy was in all other shires perfected, and the regiments ready to march; therefore hastened to a conclusion, and the last acts done in it were these: The magistrates of Glasgow, that had been imprisoned in the duke's absence, were enlarged, and discharged, without censure. That woman, surnamed Kelty, who had thrown stones at the duke, was pardoned. And it being pressed by some of the members, that Argyle's late trafficking through the shires, and dispatching major Strachan to Cromwell, might be taken notice of, the motion was quashed; and, instead of censure, he was, by a courteous letter from the parliament, invited to come and embrace his place of a colonel in the army.

But the next was worst of all; for, from the beginning of the parliament to this time, nothing had been moved concerning the marquis of Huntley, notwithstanding his friends did frequently importune the duke concerning him; and so it was concluded, that his deferring of it was to make his enlargement the last act of parliament, knowing how acceptable it would be to all true royalists, that the nobleman who had been kept so long
close

close in a stinking jail, should now recover his liberty: But all that was determined anent him was, that his prison should be changed from the tolbooth to the castle, whereby he might have a more wholesome air: This was very hardly constructed, that now, when, in the absence of the marquis of Argyle, and his adherents, the duke had such a power in the house, that he might do what he pleased, the foresaid nobleman had found no more favour; and indeed men could not see what other design there could be in it, but to gratify the Argilian faction, by continuing him under restraint; that when they should recover their power again, they might cut off his head, which, at length, came to pass.

Upon Saturday, June tenth, the parliament rose, having first appointed the next parliament to meet in March 1650, and also having appointed a grand committee to rule in the mean time, with ample power in all emergents; as also, *pro re nata*, to call a parliament before the appointed diet; nine of the committee to make a quorum at home, and seven with the army; and, in matters of moment, the two committees to correspond. In relation to this model of the committee of estates, one thing was remarked by those who were possessed with prejudice against the duke; and it was, that his grace would needs have the marquis of Argyle, and his adherents, nominated members of the committee, notwithstanding they had openly deserted the parliament, and were actually employed

ployed in stirring up disobedience thereto. This, with many former things, was the occasion that now, at the close of the parliament, the jealousy which royalists had of the duke, began to increase, and grow more universal, than at the first sitting down thereof. Nevertheless, the noblemen, and others in office, hastened home, to bring forth their regiments, that against the end of that month, the army might be drawn to the south borders.

And by this time the earl of Callender and Middleton, with their forces, were gotten as far as Paisley, and having appointed a rendezvous of their regiments, together with Turner's and Urry's, at Stewarton, upon the twelfth of June, they were informed there, that a great multitude were already in arms against them at Mauchlin; whereupon Middleton and Urry were sent thither with six troops of horse, to require them to disband, and give obedience to the king and parliament. The reason why they carried with them no greater forces, was because the earls of Glencairn and Eglinton, having come to salute the earl of Callender, assured him, that their number was not considerable; yet, notwithstanding what those earls had said, Middleton found them 2000 foot, and 500 horse; and thereupon posted a messenger away presently for more forces to be sent him.

The chief commanders of the western people, were some ministers, viz. Mr. William Adair, Mr. William Guthry, Mr. Gabriel Maxwell, and Mr. John Nevoy, old Cant's nephew.

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nephew. They parlied with Middleton, and would needs fight it, and so would their misled people, especially 600 of duke Hamilton's men of Evandale and Lesmahago, who, having risen at his very elbow, and at the time when he was at Hamilton, were most violent of any. The fight lasted not long; Middleton, in an instant, put them all to the rout, eighty of them being killed upon the place, the rest were taken prisoners, except a very few that escaped by flight. The prisoners were all set at liberty, without any hazard of suffering, except three soldiers of fortune, whom a council of war condemned to die, yet were those also, at the request of some ladies, pardoned; and so no execution followed upon the victory, which had not been the custom in former times, when any that fought for the king happened to fall into the enemy's hands.

Shortly after that victory, came intelligence, that Lambert, with 2000 horse, had come as far as Carlisle, but since he heard of the defeat his friends had gotten at Mauchlin, was retired southward again. This gave many occasion to talk of major Strachan's message to Cromwell, although the duke slighted it, and to conjecture that Lambert's coming northward, was to have joined them, if the defeat had not intervened; which was the more probable, in regard the marquis of Argyll had caused Ardkinglas to draw his regiment, against that time, to Down in Monteth, whereby, if that fight in the west had prospered, they might presently have possessed

fed themselves of the town and bridge of Stirling, which the parliament had no ways secured, and so by making that pass secure, the people of Fife might have had a safe and easy march towards them. However, let the plot be what it would, Middleton's victory disappointed it; whereupon the gentry in the west entered into strict bonds to obey the act for putting forth their levies, but neither did they afterwards perform the same, nor were they questioned by the committee of estates for deficiency. So matters were carried. The west being quieted, the earl of Callender, Middleton, and the rest, drew their forces southward, to join the army, which by that time was got together near the borders.

Upon Saturday, July eighth, the Scots army marched forward to England, and next day had the town of Carlisle delivered to them, where Sir William Livingston of West-quarter was made governor under the earl of Callender; and Berwick being shortly after delivered up also, Lodovick Lesley was appointed governor thereof under duke Hamilton. Major-general George Monro had arrived by this time from Ireland, with 2000 foot, and 1000 horse, and went straight after the army to England.

Upon July twelfth, the general assembly met at Edinburgh, and Mr. George Gillespie was elected moderator. It was now expected, when there was an army on foot, unto which they had been bold to make such opposition, they

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they should have behaved very moderately; Yet never had any assembly carried so highly and arbitrarily, as this did. Their first brush was with the committee of estates, and it was upon this occasion. A committee having been nominated by the assembly, to revise the proceedings of the late commission, and being ready, upon Monday the seventeenth, to make their report; in the mean time there came from the committee of estates, the earl of Glencairn, Sir James Carmichael treasurer-deputy, and Archibald Sydeserf bailie of Edinburgh, and desired, that before the assembly should proceed to approve the late commission, the committee of the estates might first be heard. Some honest men in the assembly, who looked no farther than appearance, expected there should have been a debate in earnest; but more intelligent royalists took it only for an amusement, to hide the collusion which was among the great ones on both sides. However, the assembly granted their desire, and so deferred the business till next morning at ten o'clock, against which time they undertook to bring in a complaint. And returning at that time, upon new pretexts, they craved a farther delay, till four o'clock in the afternoon, which being also granted, they did at that diet appear; and then, without any the least debate, passed gallantly from making any accusation; which, tho' it surprized the simpler sort, was no other than men, who used to study their ways, looked for at their hands. So the commission

sion of the preceding assembly was approved with triumph. And then a declaration was framed, and put forth by the assembly, against the army, proving the sinfulness and unlawfulness of the engagement. And that being done, a new commission, consisting of the same persons, with little alteration, was established for that year.

And lest that commission should not be able to reach all the ministers whom they meant to depose; therefore, besides it, there were other three commissions appointed, under the name of visitations, whereof one to depose in the presbyteries of Stirling and Dunblain; another for the presbyteries of Dunse and Chirnside; and the third for Caithness and Orkney. And, to make all sure, there was an act passed in the assembly, that if any minister, whom they sentenced, should afterwards uplift or receive any part of his stipend, he should, for that crime, be excommunicated. As also, to the end, those visitants might not scruple to depose such as they had a mind to be quit of, whatsoever their abilities or deservings were, the assembly set them a copy, by silencing two ministers at Edinburgh. viz. Mr. Andrew Ramsay, and Mr. William Colvil; who, for their eminence in learning, diligence in their calling, and strictness in their conversation, were ornaments to the church of Scotland. Also the assembly did, at the same time, open the mouth of one John Gillan to preach the gospel, though he was but a poor ignorant plough-

ploughman, whose greatest proficiency in learning was, that he could read English. And then the assembly rose, with much less applause than any that had formerly been.

Towards the end of July, Sir William Fleming returned from the prince, and having brought with him much ammunition, and other military furniture for the army, the same, by the committee's order, was carried to the castle to be kept there, that they might be sure not to have it at command; that place being in the power of General Lesley, who dissembled not his adhering to the other party. Against August fifth, Sir William was dispatched, and with him went the earl of Lauderdale, to invite the prince to come to Scotland, who then with his navy lay in the Downs.

So soon as it came to be noised, that Lauderdale was embarked, the royalists called him a venturous man, who would hazard to go to the prince, having been so active against the king: For they presumed, that the prince could not be ignorant, how for the space of four years he had resided constantly at London, fomenting the combination betwixt the two parliaments, and never returned until he had left the king a close prisoner in Carisbrook-castle, and until the vote of No Addresses had past against him. And they pleased themselves with conjectures, what the prince's deportment would be to him. But ere long, contrary to their expectations, news came, that the prince made him welcome, and used him

him with familiarity and respect enough; which put them to a stand.

And by that time intelligence was brought from the army, how at Appleby they had skirmished with Lambert, and therein had the advantage: And that thereupon Lambert retired southward, and that the Scots army followed to Lancashire, where the town of Preston was the head-quarters; but that, withal, quartered so wide, that betwixt the van and rear of the army, was thirty-eight miles; and that, moreover, they suffered not George Monro, and his forces, to come up, but kept them always behind, to bring forward the Scots cannon, which in number were five.

The chancellor, the marquis of Argyle, the earls of Cassils and Eglinton, were all the while busy at home, preparing the people to be in a posture, against the ruin or surrendering of the Scots army, whereof they professed openly not to doubt. And the certainty of their sticking in the west, coming to be known by the committee of estates at Edin-burgh, they concluded a present levy of three regiments of horse for suppressing them, and nominated all the officers thereof, and the earl of Lanerk to command them in chief: Such was the loyalty of the gentry, whom they made rout-masters, and the forwardness of the inferior sort to do service, that those three regiments were very soon in readiness.

But, in the mean time, Cromwell having quieted Wales, came up to Lambert, and,
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upon Thursday, August seventeenth, both fell in upon Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and his people; who fought it well, but in the end were beaten, in regard they were overpowered; and also their ammunition failed; and having sent to the duke and earl of Callender, for a supply of forces and ammunition, the same was refused them, upon a pretext that it was but a skirmish, and that Langdale's ambition was such, that he meant to have the whole glory of the business. The next morning Cromwell and Lambert assaulted the Scots, and made them know it was more than a skirmish; the Scots army never came together, being so wide quartered, and many of the commanders also were sick of their last night's surfeit, which, with other neglects, helped Cromwell to an easy victory, Major-general Bailie, at the first, surrendered himself, and 10,000 foot, prisoners; the rest of them straggled northwards towards Monro: And, for the horse, the duke and Callender, with the rest of the general officers (except Middleton, who made the best defence of any, and was taken upon the place) and 3000 horse fled together in a body; while the rest marched away in small parties; and so many of them as got off, joined themselves to George Monro, who having always kept behind, escaped this scouring. Shortly after, the duke, with the other general officers in his company, and all their body of horse, were taken prisoners; only the earl of Callender, disguising himself, escaped, and
went

went over to Holland. So that army, which was one of the greatest and best furnished that ever Scotland sent forth, having been a year in preparing, was ruined in an instant; which created the less astonishment at home, in regard that observing men (who had given themselves time to think, and remark the management of business, since the first motion of a levy) expected no better would come of it.

However, the first consequence of it within Scotland was, that upon the knowledge thereof, the westlanders began to stir: For a number of the earl of Eglinton's people drew together, under the command of Robert Montgomery his son, and fell upon a troop of Lanerk's, quartered in those bounds, and killed some, and routed the rest: The report whereof coming to the committee of estates at Edinburgh, it was resolved presently to call forth all the fencible men in the kingdom, for suppressing the western insurrection. And, for a general to command them, it being much debated in the committee, Crawford-Lindsay president thereof, proposed Lanerk; and all the Hamiltonian faction, except the earl of Roxburgh, were for him; but others opposed it to their utmost, and inclined to the earl of Marshall. But the question being put to the vote, the earl of Lanerk, by the plurality, carried the employment, being so loth to have missed it, that he voted for himself, which is not very ordinary. And he being
made

made general, all men expected he should have marched to the west, to suppress that insurrection, which might easily have been done, in regard none were as yet in arms, but those men of Eglinton's, commanded by colonel Robert; and that Lanerk had in readiness those three regiments of horse, which had been levied before the defeat; besides many others that hourly joined him. But, instead thereof, he turned to East-Lothian, and from thence to the south border, professing it was to meet with George Monro, and his forces, who were upon their retreat homewards.

By Lanerk's thus retiring to the south, all the westlanders had a fair and peaceable opportunity to rise: So that the whole shires of Kyle, Cuninghame, Renfrew, Clydesdale, Evandale, and Lesmahago, joined together, to the number of 6000 men, and marched forward towards Edinburgh, having at their head, Loudoun the chancellor, and Eglinton, with Mr. David Dickson, and the rest of the ministers in those parts. The earl of Cassils, who brought forth the people of Carrick and Galloway, was not yet in readiness; neither was the marquis of Argyle with his men.

Amongst all that headed this insurrection, there was none so generally abhorred as Loudoun the chancellor, not only in regard of his ingratitude to the king (who, in the year 1641. raised him from the rank of a lord, to the title of earl, and preferred him to be high-

high-chancellor; and farther, gave him the yearly pension of 1000 l. Sterling, and also the best part of the whole annuities throughout the kingdom; but much more because of his late treachery to his majesty, who having, at the Isle of Wight, been a prime instrument in persuading him to refuse treating with the parliament of England, and to cast himself upon the Scots; and that now, when by so doing, his majesty could hope for no favour from the English, he did then fall from the assurance then given by him and the other commissioners to his majesty, and, instead of assisting the army, raised in reference thereto, did now, after the same had got a defeat by strangers, head a lawless multitude, to oppose and cut off the remainder thereof.

However, the westlanders advanced towards Edinburgh, unto whom went Sir James Lockhart of Lee, and Sir Adam Hepburn of Humbie, two dependents on the Hamiltons, and on that account great committee-men, to meet with them, and to draw on a treaty betwixt Lanerk the new general, and them.

As also when they drew nigh to the city, some of the magistrates and ministers thereof, went out to welcome them, and conducted them towards the town, where the gates were cast open, and they received with joy: Whereupon Crawford and Glencairn, who till then had staid in Holyroodhouse, waiting for Lee's and Humbie's return, did remove, and go southward to the general.

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By this time the marquis of Argyle, having levied the few men of his country, which then were extant, the most thereof having been destroyed by Montrose and Macdonald, came forward; and, on his way, wrote to the gentry of Lenox and Stirling-shire, to attend and rendezvous near Dumbarton, upon the eighth day of September. And yet when the day was come, his numbers were small, amounting in the whole but to 600 foot and 100 horse, whereof only 300 were his own; the remnant being country people of Lenox and the west end of Stirling-shire, who joined him, to eschew being plundered. After his rendezvous, the marquis marched eastward, and, upon September eleventh quartered his men at Gargunnoch.

Before this time, Monro, with his army, and many more, who having escaped at Preston, had joined him, was returned to the borders, and united with Lanerk, and acknowledged him for their general. Likewise Sir James Tildesley, with 1000 English horse, who, since the defeat, had kept together in a body, came thither, and desired to be admitted to join with them. This offer of 1000 horse, was no despicable help, if they had intended action; yet Lanerk refused the same, alledging, it would be a reason to draw Cromwell into Scotland. And so those English gentlemen were rejected, and left to take such quarters as Cromwell would please to give them; and Lanerk and Monro, with their forces, came north-

northward to Haddington, and from thence towards Edinburgh.

The chancellor and Eglinton, with their western people, faced them upon the craigs by west the town; and it was said, that George Monro desired to fight them, which, had it been so resolved by Lanerk and his committee, might, probably, have obtained an easy victory; not only because their strength was considerable, being above 4000 horse, and as many foot, of expert soldiers, but also in regard the westlanders, though not much inferior in number, were all poor ignorant creatures, taken from their husbandry, and brought forth only to make a show, as also multitudes of them every day running home to get in their harvest. But Lanerk, with Crawford and Glencairn, resolved not to fight; and, instead thereof, concluded to go westward, and possess themselves of the town and bridge of Stirling, whereby they might secure that pass for the forces they expected from the north. So upon Monday, September eleventh, they marched forward to Linlithgow; and, in the mean time, the earl of Cassils, with the people of Carrick and Galloway, reckoned 800 horse, had, for that night, taken up their quarters in the town, where they might, probably, have been surprized, had not some friend (and, as the constant report went, it was Crawford-Lindsay) sent them word to withdraw. Whereupon, leaving their supper at the fire, they marched away to the Queensferry, and Lanerk and

Monro's army coming thither, fared the better for their being there before them.

Next day, September twelfth, the marquis of Argyle and his people, not knowing of their intention to come thither, entered Stirling, about eleven o'clock, where the marquis put his people to several posts, placing some at the bridge, and the rest at the Burrows-Gate, and the Burrows-Mill; then went to the tolbooth, and held a committee with his officers, calling in the magistrates to take care for providing entertainment for his men: And having dispatched that affair, went next to have dined with the earl of Mar. But while the meat was setting on the table, his lordship was alarmed with the approach of Monro's army; whereupon he presently mounted his horse, and taking his way by Stirling-bridge, fled with such speed, as if his enemies had been at his heels, and never looked behind him, until, after eighteen miles riding, he reached the north Queensferry, and there possessed himself of a boat again, now the fourth time. The poor men whom he had left at Stirling-bridge, being above an hundred, were all cut off; which fell out upon this occasion. Monro, when he was advanced on his march, within two miles of Stirling, hearing that the marquis had possessed himself of that place, staid not to consult with Lanerk and his committee, who happened to be behind with the foot, but presently made forward at a swifter rate than before, and getting intelligence, when

when he drew near the town, that the marquis was upon his flight by the bridge, rode quickly towards it, hoping to have caught him, but he was gone long before, and the poor creatures, who kept post there, were become so confounded with the suddenness of his withdrawing, that when Monro approached them, they had not so much use of judgment and reason, as once to cry for quarter; but, instead thereof, following their lord's example, although not with the same success, they all fled on the sudden, and attempted to have delivered themselves by speed of foot, wherein their hopes failed them; for Monro's troopers soon overtook them, and cut them all in pieces: None of them escaped falling by the sword, except such as, to avoid it, threw themselves into the river, and were drowned. The rest of the marquis's men, who kept post at the Burrows-Gate, and Burrows-Mill, had better fortune: For Lanerk, Glencairn, and Crawford-Lindsay, with the foot army, entering the town that way, did, before Monro's return from the execution at the bridge, give them all quarter, whereby they, being about five hundred men, became prisoners, and were kept, the one half of them in the tolbooth, and the other in the kirk. That very day, the western army followed westward, and at night reached Falkirk; and with them David Lesley, colonel Ker, Hepburn, and other soldiers of fortune, that now had joined them, besides additional helps they

had from divers of the gentry of Fife, and many more from the south, especially from the earl of Buccleugh, and his friends of the name of Scot.

Lanerk, Crawford, and Glencairn, being settled in Stirling, did presently convene their committee, wherein they expressed no small grief for Argyle's men, whom Monro had cut off: But he, not knowing what they could mean thereby, was so far from repenting, that, instead thereof, he proposed a new motion, which vexed them more; and it was, that he might be allowed, the next morning, to march to Falkirk, and destroy the western army, which he thought was very feasible, as indeed it was: But that they abhorred; and lest he should have made bold, without their allowance, to attempt it, they prevented the same, by presently ordering all the horse to cross Stirling-bridge, and to quarter on the north side of Forth, from the castle of Down to Burntisland; where there was betwixt their van and their rear twenty-eight miles: Yet in this wide quarter, so were they divided by general Lanerk and his committee's order, that a greater burden thereof, by far, was put upon the lordship of Alloa, than any other place; for there remained there for the space of seventeen days Robert Lesley's regiment, together with another that belonged to Monro's command, and utterly destroyed both the corn and cattle of that lordship. The loyalty of the house of Mar procured

to themselves that compliment, even from those who professed to be acting for the king, besides the many such strokes they had formerly gotten from the other party: And this, by all men, was esteemed the more absurd, in regard that, in the mean time, the lord Erskine was actually employed in their service, levying his people in Mar and Garioch for their aid and succour. But the next day's work discovered some people so, that neither that, nor any of their former actions, were any more wondered at: For, whereas it was expected by all, that something should have been attempted against the enemy, instead thereof, their business was to nominate and dispatch commissioners to Woodside, to treat for an accommodation. This was interpreted to be the fruit of Lee's and Humble's negotiation with the western army, when at first they were on their march towards Edinburgh: And so, although when Lanerk and his committee resolved to retire to Stirling, they pretended it was to make good that pass for the forces they expected from the north, yet now people conceived the true reason was, that they being in Stirling, and the other army at Falkirk, they might have a commodious opportunity for treating: And therefore, that being the thing projected, none thought it strange that they declined fighting near Edinburgh; nor that they were dissatisfied at what Monro had done at Stirling-bridge; and that they would by no means be consenting, that he should go to Falkirk the next

day, and fall upon them there. Upon Wednesday, September thirteenth, they commissioned to repair to Woodside for treating, the earls of Crawford-Lindsay and Glencairn, with two colonels, viz. Colonel Hamilton of Innerwick, and colonel Home: Monro opposed it; but, nevertheless, it was carried by the plurality of the committee, and so they went away at eleven o'clock.

Yet none appeared that day at Woodside from the western army; the reason whereof was said to be, that the marquis of Argyle, having that morning come up to them, told them of Monro's carriage at Stirling-bridge; and they not knowing but that Lanerk, and the rest of the lords, with whom they were on terms of treating, might have been accessory to it, esteemed it such a breach, that they could not treat with them, until they cleared themselves thereof: Whereupon the treaters sent a message to them from Woodside, whereby they vindicated themselves in reference to that emergent, and desired that next day they might send some of their number there, and so for that night returned to Stirling. Next day, being the fourteenth, they went again to Woodside; and from the other army there came to treat with them, the earl of Cassils, Sir Archibald Johnston, Mr. Robert Barclay, burghess of Irvine, and four ministers, viz. Mr. Robert Douglas, Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. James Guthrie, and Mr. James Nasmyth: They remained all together that night at Woodside, and next day,
Septem-

September fifteenth, concluded the treaty on these terms, viz. The Hamiltons, and their adherents (referring all matters civil to a parliament, which was to be called before January tenth, and matters ecclesiastical to an assembly) accepted this assurance, that the other side should neither harm them, nor incite others to harm them, or any that adhered to them; and upon these terms both the armies, with all the garrisons in the kingdom, to be disbanded against the twenty-ninth of that month, or, at farthest, before October fifth; and all prisoners which had been taken at home, to be enlarged. But nothing at all mentioned about prisoners taken in England, yea, nor concerning the king, who was then a close prisoner in the Isle of Wight.

The earls of Crawford-Lindsay and Glencairn, with those two colonels, having, at their return to Stirling, shewn to Lanerk, and his committee, the success and conclusion of their treaty, Monro was so highly displeased therewith, that could he have gotten assistance, it was thought, that he minded, without those lords, to have kept up the army. But therein they had prevented him in such sort, that when he tempted the officers of the army to it, he could find no adherents, colonel Dalziel, and captain James Galbraith, being excepted, who were willing to have taken their hazard with him; all the rest, as well those whom he had brought from Ireland, as the others who were under Lanerk's command, flinched from him; and so he was

forced to submit. Thus the treaty held good, and pursuant thereto, upon September twentieth, the marquis of Argyle's men, who had been prisoners in Stirling, were discharged: Machonochy and Inneraw came thither, and led them away. And upon the twenty-ninth their army at Stirling disbanded, without offering any wrong to the town, but with fearful exclamations against the Hamiltons.

Monro, at his going out, had intelligence from Ireland, that Glencairn's regiment in Carrickfergus had betrayed that garrison to colonel Monk; whereupon, at St. Ninian's kirk, he made a speech to his army, in relation to his intelligence, and then permitted such as were willing, to disband; and for the rest, that chose yet to adhere to him, offered to lead them over to Ireland, and try what fortune they could make there: But, being come to Glasgow, he learned more fully, that the Scots had lost all in Ireland, and that old Monro was sent prisoner to London; whereupon he disbanded the rest, and himself returned a private man to Edinburgh, from whence shortly after he stept over into Holland.

The western army was also disbanded, according to the treaty, at the appointed day, and went home to reap their corn: But the marquis of Argyle, the chancellor, with the earls of Cassils, Eglington, and others, returned to Edinburgh, and there sate down under the notion of the committee of estates; which they might the better do, duke Hamilton,
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in the late parliament, having nominated them members of that committee; notwithstanding, that, even at that time, they did, by their dissents and protestations, oppose the proceedings of the parliament. This new committee left nothing undone to establish the power in their own hands, and concluded the meeting of a parliament to be upon January fourth.

By this time, Cromwell and Lambert, with their army, were come northward to suppress Sir Thomas Tildesley, and other English, who were yet in arms; and that being done, they advanced towards the Scots border, for having Berwick and Carlisle delivered to them; and they kept their head-quarters at Mordington: Whereupon the marquis of Argyle, and with him the lord Elcho, and Sir Charles Erskine, went thither to salute them; and the compliments being passed, the marquis caused, in the committee's name, Lodovick Lesley to deliver Berwick to them; and for the regiment of Scots which he brought forth, he bestowed it upon Hepburn, to be sent to Stirling, whereof he was made governor.

Then the marquis conducted Cromwell and Lambert to Edinburgh, with their army, where they kept their head-quarters at the lady Home's house in the Canongate.

Upon their arrival, the committee of estates adjourned until their removal again: As also there was a proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh, commanding all that had been

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in the late engagement, to depart the town: Whereupon Crawford-Lindsay retired to Fife; and Glencairn being already at home in the west, Lanerk, after some days stay at Kinneil (which was for dispatching James Moubray with letters to the prince) went towards him, and there remained, until the marquis of Argyle had leisure to come home; after which, crossing the river of Clyde quietly, the marquis from Rosneath met him at Cardross, and there they conferred together at large. This was not so privately carried, but that the rumour of it had spread throughout the land, before themselves returned to Edinburgh, which, notwithstanding, was as soon as they could. While Cromwell remained in the Canongate, those that haunted him most, were, besides the marquis of Argyle, Loudoun the chancellor, the earl of Lothian, the lords Arbuthnot, Elcho, and Burleigh; and of ministers, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. James Guthrie. What passed among them, came not to be known infallibly; but it was talked very loud, that he did communicate to them his design in reference to the king, and had their assent thereto.

His removal was the more hastened, by reason of an advertisement he received of a treaty begun betwixt the king and parliament in his absence. Whereupon, having caused the committee-men to send an order to Sir William Livingstone, governor of

of Carlisle, to surrender the same to his delegates, which was obeyed, he left Lambert with a party behind him, to stay for some time, until the Argilian faction were fully seated in their power, and afterwards to follow up. And immediately himself, with his army, marched away, that he might be there in time to crush the treaty, before it came any length: Yet did he not depart, until he had appointed some of his friends here to be sent after him, to be concurring against the king upon the account of this nation: And so Sir John Cheisley, and Mr. Robert Blair, were presently dispatched away, who went under the notion of church-men, but for other commissioners, they could not be sent until the committee of estates should meet to elect them. Shortly after Lambert transported his quarters to Seaton, and from thence, with the allowance of the marquis, and the rest of his friends here, retired to England.

Upon November fourteenth, came to Stirling that commission, which the general assembly had appointed, to depose ministers in the presbyteries of Stirling and Dunblain, for their malignancy: Who thrust out Mr. Henry Guthry and Mr. John Allan, ministers of the town of Stirling, with two in the presbyteries of Dunblain, viz. Mr. Henry Shaw and Mr. Andrew Jeffery; and for the rest of both presbyteries, they spared them at that time, until they might have the next general assembly's allowance to that which was done.

done. But returning afterwards, they made a fearful massacre amongst them.

By this time came letters from Sir John Cheisley, and Mr. Robert Blair, shewing that the treaty went on, wishing therefore, that our commissioners might be hastened up: Whereupon the committee of estates assembled upon Thursday, November twenty-eighth, and elected to go up and join with Cheisley and Blair, the earl of Lothian, and William Glendinning, burgesses of Kirkcudbright.

When royalists heard throughout the land, that those were the men, they began to pray, "God save the king:" And shortly after their arrival there, Cromwell began to shew himself; and, for crushing of the treaty, drew up his army towards London, and sent in a remonstrance to the parliament, shewing his disallowance of the treaty, and craving justice, as he called it, to be done upon the king; and that the prince, and duke of York, should be summoned to appear before the parliament at a certain day, to hear themselves declared incapable of any place or government in England.

Notwithstanding this, the parliament did, upon the fifth day of December, conclude upon two votes, 1. That the parliament had no hand in taking the king from Hampton-Court, to make him prisoner in the Isle of Wight; and, 2. That the king's concessions in that treaty were good grounds for a safe and lasting peace. There were in the house
but

but forty-six dissenting voices, who nevertheless carried matters as follows.

Cromwell being advertised by the dissenters, brought presently his army to Westminster, assaulting the parliament, and imprisoning such of the members as he could apprehend; the rest escaped by flight, so that none remained to make up the parliament, but those forty-six dissenters.

After this, Cromwell sent colonel Ewers to bring over the king from the Isle of Wight to Hurst-castle; from whence he was brought by Winchester and Farnham to Windsor, where duke Hamilton lay in prison at that time; and from Windsor to St. James's, in order to his trial.

1649.

THE parliament of Scotland sate down at Edinburgh upon January fourth, and commissioners from the shires and burghs met numerously: For, albeit the most part throughout the land were cordially for the king, yet there wanted not in every place sycophants enough, who were ready to catch employment, and blow up the embers. But of all the nobility, there were only fourteen present at that parliament, viz. the chancellor, the marquis of Argyle, the earls of Sutherland, Cassils, Eglinton, Buccleugh, Dalhousie, and Leven; and, of lords, Arbuthnot, Balmerino, Couper, Burleigh, Torphichen, and Cardross.

Hereby

Hereby the weakness of the Argilian faction came to be perfectly understood, which made the greater outcry against them, who having then a puissant army at command, did submit to them at Stirling.

The parliament kept a fast upon the tenth of January, at which time Mr. Robert Douglas, and Mr. James Guthry, preached to them, and had the thanks of the house given them. Their purposes tended towards the purging of judicatories; and therefore, the next day, it was appointed, that a committee of parliament-men should meet with a commission of the church, to consider thereof: Whereof the result was, That malignants were ranked in four classes, first, Of those secluded from public places, during life: The second for ten years: The third for five years: And the fourth until the next session of parliament. Whereupon followed the cashiering of so many lords of session as were tainted with the crime of loyalty; and, in their rooms, were substituted such men as were furious asserters of their way, viz. Cessnock, Brodie, Sir James Hope, Mr. Alexander Pearson, Mr. George Winram, Mr. Robert Bruce, Mr. Robert Macgill, and Sir William Scot, formerly one of the clerks in the house.

In the mean time did those sweet commissioners at London write down to the parliament, how the king, being prisoner at St. James's, they were so far advanced against him, that a committee was already appointed,

ed, whereof twenty to make a quorum, to proceed in his trial. Their commission was dated January second, and was to endure until February second, by which time, it was expected he would be dispatched; and therefore they desired farther instructions how they should behave themselves in the business.

The parliament drew up divers instructions, and sent them; among which there were two most material and home to the point. One was, That they should not debate the question, Whether they might take the king's life from him or not, but only labour for a delay. And the other was, That they should in no case speak or do any thing that might be the occasion of a national quarrel.

And the next news was concerning his majesty's arraignment; how being several times brought from St. James's, to appear before that committee in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, he did still except against the authority of the court. Yet, upon the twenty-seventh day of January, was he sentenced by them, to be upon Tuesday, January the thirtieth, beheaded before the gate of Whitehall; which was accordingly performed: And, being dead, his faithful cousin, James duke of Lenox had the permission to convey his royal body to Windsor chapel, where it was interred.

So ended the best of princes, being cut off in the midst of his age, by the barbarous hands of unnatural subjects. Many sad epitaphs were made: But that of the most gallant

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gallant Montrose. (who soon thereafter suffered for his royal master's sake) esteemed so like the author, above all others deserves best here to be inserted.

*Great, good, and just, could I but rate
My grief and thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world in such a strain,
As it should deluge once again :
But since thy loud-tongu'd blood demands supplies,
More from Briareus' hands, than Argus' eyes,
I'll sing thine obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thine epitaph in blood and wounds.*

THE END.

T H E I N D E X.

A.

- A**BERCORN, countess of, Pag. 27.
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ERRATA.

Page 4. line 22. *for* St. Andrews, *read* St. Cuthbert's.
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